The Kitan Language and Script

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The Kitan Language and Script

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

> There are many reconstructions, and not all of them can be correct. This is an obvious fact. Then is only one reconstruction accurate? Hard to say. For each reconstruction, there will always be other researchers who disagree. This situation is troublesome not only for the general reader and for novices in the field; even such a famous grammatologist as Nishida Tatsuo could only sigh: “To tell you the truth, the Kitan script is becoming more and more incomprehensible. Things which we were not able to understand before we are even less able to understand now.” - Speech at Kyoto Conference 1991. Quoted in Chinggeltei 2002:15.

Kitan is a largely undeciphered language preserved in about forty epitaphs from the 11th century. It is also one of the most intriguing riddles in the field of Altaic linguistics. In theory, it cannot be deciphered: the script cannot be read; it has no known cognate languages. These statements, however, are not entirely true: many Chinese words have been identified in the Kitan script, and these have given approximate values to about one third of the known graphs. Using these values, a large number of Chinese official titles and placenames can be deciphered. However, most of the graphs used primarily to write Kitan words have not been deciphered - only those which are also used in the Chinese transcriptions. Again, that is not entirely true: some native Kitan words have been tentatively identified on the basis of these transcriptions, possible cognates in other languages, and more often than not, educated guesswork. Nevertheless, even when Kitan words, and whole sentences, are transliterated, they do not yield anything resembling Mongol, Jurchen, Turkic or any other attested language. This situation has lead to some researchers suggesting that Kitan graphs had two ‘readings’: one set for transcribing Chinese and another set of values when writing Kitan. The first set is partially known, the second set remains to be discovered. This is unlikely, but the fact remains that the transcription of Kitan is by no means straightforward, or even settled. Much remains to be discovered.

As for cognate languages, some of the numerals, the seasons and the names of some animals are clearly similar to Mongol, whether through affinity or borrowing we cannot tell. Kitan is indisputably ‘Altaic’ in the broad sense, with vowel harmony, agglutination, case markers and subject-object-verb syntax. There is no Kitan-Chinese glossary extant, such as those available for Middle Mongolian or Ming dynasty Jurchen. There is only one short bilingual, and even that cannot be completely deciphered. The

meanings of words and the basic morphology and syntax of the language have to be implied through the context of imperfectly understood texts.

Despite all this, a certain amount of information on Kitan can be extracted from the texts. In many ways working on Kitan is like working on Etruscan. In both cases the texts are mainly epitaphs, where words like father, son, married and died can be deduced from the context. The Etruscan script can be read; until a couple of decades ago, the Kitan script could not, and even now cannot be read with confidence. And although there is a supposition that Kitan will eventually turn out to be related to some form of proto-Mongol, if only the right readings for the graphs could be determined, and although some words are indeed similar to Mongol, no sense can be extracted from transcribed texts with a knowledge of Mongol. It may well be that Kitan was related to Mongol in the sense that Latin was related to Oscan. Which gives as much comfort as trying to decipher an Oscan inscription with only a knowledge of Latin.

When one of my colleagues learnt I was writing attempting to write a book on the Kitan language, he commented that it would not be a very long book. Another colleague was more encouraging in relation to the comparison with Etruscan: just because not much is known about the language is no reason for not writing down what is known. It is in that spirit that this book has been written.

This book deals with a limited corpus - the inscriptions in the Kitan small script. A separate chapter relates what is currently known about the large script. Kitan words in Chinese transcription, which until recently formed the major source of our knowledge of Kitan, are not treated, unless they also occur in the inscriptions. These words have been dealt with extensively in the literature, and not much more can be said. There are many other issues, however, which are not dealt with here. One is the relationship of Kitan to other languages. It may well be that Kitan can be described as ‘paramongolic’, or that there is a Kitan substratum or superstratum in Daur, but these issues remain to be investigated at a later stage. The question of the descendants of the Kitans, though not a linguistic one, may have some bearing on this issue. Other issues are Kitan names, and indeed the name of the Kitan state. As historical documents, the Kitan inscriptions provide much material lacking in the Chinese texts, but these are also not primarily related to the language and script, and are not discussed here.

Thanks and acknowledgments

This book has its beginnings in the early 1970s, when Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz referred me to the section on the Kitan script in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao.* There was a flurry of activity as I collected and read all the published research, but needless to say I did not get very far. I turned my attention to Jurchen, in the vague expectation that the Jurchen script, which can at least be partly understood, might give some insights into Kitan. That is still a possibility: the Jurchen script is clearly derived from the Kitan large script, but the relationship between them is not clear. Neither seems to be related directly to the Kitan small script, in which most of the inscriptions are written.

In 1980 I attended an exhibition of *Languages and Scripts of Ancient Minorities* at the Minorities Cultural Palace, Beijing, where I met Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin, two of the members of the Kitan Research Group. They gave me a copy of their original report on the Kitan small script, published in 1979. I translated that for my own interest at the time, but other matters directed my attention away from Kitan for some years. In 1996 I was again working in Beijing, and contacted my old friends Jin Qizong, the foremost expert on Jurchen, Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin. From them I learnt of the many recent archaeological discoveries which had provided more textual material in Kitan.

The real impetus to rekindle my interest in Kitan came in 2003, when Liu Fengzhu told me he was preparing a complete annotated corpus of all Kitan inscriptions, in both the small and large scripts. So I started going through *Research on the Kitan Small Script*, the *major opus* published by the Kitan Research Group in 1985, and also read up on publications over the past twenty years. The suggestion that I write a book on Kitan came from Nicola di Cosmo in 2004, and he has been unfailing in encouraging me to persist in what sometimes seemed a bottomless pit. Once I started working in earnest, many scholars and friends came to my aid. Liu Fengzhu sent me practically all articles published on Kitan in China over the past few years, and also sent me Ji Shi's *Seeking a Path through the Forest of Riddles*. Aisin Gioro Ulhicun sent me her *Research on the Kitan Language and Script.* In 2006 Liu Fengzhu accompanied me to visit museums and research institutes in Chifeng and other parts of Inner Mongolia, introducing me to archaeologists, museum curators and other researchers in the field. In 2007 I also met Professor Chinggeltei and his research team in the University of Inner Mongolia, and Ji Shi at the Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences. Professor Chinggeltei presented me with a copy of his invaluable *Issues in the Decipherment of the Kitan Small Script*, and Wu Yingzhe gave me a copy of

his PhD thesis *Research on Nominal Grammatical Categories in Kitan*, and several other articles by himself and others. Without this material, the present book could not have been written.

Some of the original inscriptions have been well preserved; others are quite damaged, and this sometimes results in probably inaccurate transcriptions. It is also a well known fact that Chinese sources on the Liao are often not reliable. The *Liaoshi,* the official Chinese history of the Liao, was compiled on the basis of scanty materials some two centuries after the demise of the dynasty. Individuals are referred to by one name here, another name there. Their names in the *Liaoshi* often do not correspond to their names in the Liao Chinese or Kitan inscriptions. Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words are generally not very accurate, and in many cases are probably wrong. All of which makes acquiring some knowledge of what is known about the Kitan language and script a rather formidable challenge.

Many of the original texts and studies on them are now readily available, and this book will hopefully make them more approachable. Kitan still needs a prolonged attack by number of specialists in various disciplines before it will give up its secrets: sinologists and altaicists, philologists and linguists, historians and archaeologists. This book is probably more sinological than altaistic, more philological than linguistic, more historical than archaeological, which represents both the nature of the material and my own weaknesses. There are many unsolved issues in this book which will be obvious to specialists in Liao history, or Middle Mongolian, or Old Turkic. Chinese scholars often call their work "a piece of rock thrown to attract jade", and it is in this spirit that these lines are written.

This book is typographically complex, and has benefited greatly from the patient explanations of my editor, Patricia Radder, on such matters as margins, font sizes and other vagaries of computer programs. I must also thank her for believing in the existence of this rather arcane book long before it was in any fit state to actually show her a first draft.

It is common for a scholar to thank his wife. Ye Xiaoqing is a specialist on Qing history. Some of the Chinese versions of the imperial epitaphs in praise of one or another of the Liao emperors are almost as incomprehensible as the Kitan texts themselves, and her help has been invaluable. She has also had to share her life with my scribes from the pines and deserts for some years. For the rest I stand on the shoulders of pioneers and current authorities: Pelliot and Franke, Wittfogel and Fêng, Ligeti and Kara, Liu Fengzhu, Chinggeltei, Ji Shi, Hambis, Taskin, Šavkunov, Toyoda, Nishida, Wu Yingzhe, Aisin Gioro Ulhicun and many other scholars whose works appear in the bibliography and footnotes.

Transcription conventions

Research distinguished 378 graphs in the Kitan small script, which has become the standard list. A new list has been prepared by Chinggeltei's research team, but this has not yet been published. Some are logographs, some are logographs used phonetically. Some appear to be graphic variants of others. Most of the identified graphs are phonograms. There is still a large number of unidentified graphs: neither their meaning, nor pronunciation, or even whether they are logographs or phonogram, is known.

The principles of the Kitan script are by no means fully understood. It is possible some graphs represent consonants, some vowels, some syllables of the CV type, some of the VC type, and some of the CVC type. The script is used to transcribe two quite different languages, Kitan and Liao Chinese. Some graphs are used only in Kitan words, some only in Chinese words, some in both. We might presume those in the first group represent phonemes present in Kitan but absent from Chinese, such as the back velars and laryngeals. Others represent phonemes present in Chinese but not present in Kitan, such as dental affricates and retroflexes. The Kitan script is said to have been inspired by the Uighurs, and it may be there are two sets of consonants, one set used with front vowels, one set used with back vowels.

The readings of many graphs have been determined through the Kitan transcription of Chinese words. These are transcribed [Kitan] ‹a› [Kitan] ‹b› [Kitan] ‹c› [Kitan] ‹d› and so on. This leads to transcriptions such as [Kitan][Kitan] ‹c.c› and [Kitan][Kitan][Kitan] ‹s.l.b›. It is widely presumed there is an "inherent vowel" attached to the consonant, that is, the graphs represented syllables, not consonants. Seen from a Chinese perspective this is likely; seen from a Uighur perspective, there is no reason to suppose this is the case. As an interim measure, an "inherent vowel" has been supplied when called for. Generally speaking, this is [o] after labials, [i] after palatals and affricates and [e] after dentals. So [Kitan] [Kitan] and [Kitan][Kitan][Kitan] are transcribed ‹ci.ci› and ‹se.le.bo›. When two graphs seem to represent the same sound, or perhaps a slightly different one, they are transcribed [Kitan] ‹o› [Kitan] ‹ó› and [Kitan] ‹ô›, [Kitan] ‹u› [Kitan] ‹ú› and [Kitan] ‹û› etc. Chinese scholars sometimes use ‹ə› as the symbol for the "inherent vowel", which may or may not be modified by other vowels in the same word in accordance with the principles of vowel harmony. This is possible, but the script is not understood well enough to come to any firm conclusions.

Articles in Chinese and Japanese quote words and phrases in Kitan without transcription. This is not acceptable in a work written in English. The transcription system here is provisional and certainly less than perfect. It is simply used *faut de mieux*. Chinese specialists, when talking about the Kitan script, often refer to [Kitan] ‹kå› as 卡 *ka*, [Kitan] ‹ú› as 八千 *bagan* and so on,

simply as a mnemonic, without any implication that was really pronounced [ka]. I have adopted this system here, indicating such transcriptions with an unusual diacritic like a question mark written above the vowel, so ‹nẻn› (年), ‹tẻn› (天) and ‹ủ› (午). This system of mnemonics is certainly less than satisfactory, but the alternative is to use the graphs in their original form, to use their numbers or pepper the text with question marks.

Modern Mandarin is transcribed in *pinyin*. Liao Chinese is transcribed in a modified *pinyin* which is meant to represent the phonemes of the variety of Chinese underlying the Kitan transcriptions. This transcription is described and discussed in Chapter Seven. Transcriptions of Liao official titles have been given in reconstructed Liao Chinese, not modern Mandarin. Reconstructed Liao forms are preceded by an asterisk. The asterisk is also used with Kitan names for which a more precise phonetic form is not possible at this stage. Middle Chinese is transcribed according to the general principles in Baxter 1992 and 2002, somewhat modified.

The Kitan true type font used in this book was created with Font Creator 5. It is based on the calligraphy of Xing Fuli, one of the original members of the Kitan Research Group. It is widely used in books and articles on Kitan published in China, including *Research.* Wu Yingzhe and Aisin Gioro have developed their own fonts. Graphs in the Kitan large script are based on the calligraphy on the *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture*, and other texts in the large script, generated by the same process. Occasional graphs in the Jurchen script are from the font created by Jason Glavy, itself based on Jin Qicong's handwritten graphs in his *Jurchen Dictionary*.

Transcriptions of the Kitan small graphs are given between single *guillemets* ‹ ›, and of the Kitan large graphs between double *guillemets* « ». Occasional suggested phonetic transcriptions are given between square brackets [ ].

This book contains a large number of references to Liao administrative terminology, Kitan tribes, lineages and hierarchies, horizontal tents and maternal uncles, Chinese reign periods, stems and branches and innumerable official titles. It is not been possible in a book on the Kitan language to give a detailed explanation of these terms, which can be found in Wittfogel and Fêng 1949 or Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. There is also a good deal of duplication in various entries throughout the book. The alternative was an extensive system of cross-referencing which would have made things even more complicated. For these and many other inadequacies, I am alone responsible.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> It is not impossible that the countries which were under their domination still contain stone monuments, with inscriptions destined to perpetuate the remembrance of treaties of peace, of decisive battles, and splendid actions. It is customary, in China, to erect tablets on such occasions, and the Tartars frequently conform to this practice. If any such could be found, with inscriptions in the characters of the Leaou or the Kin, we should be enabled to speak from knowledge, in deciding whether the Tartars had adopted the Chinese characters purely and simply, or whether they had subjected them to some such corruption as those alluded to above; whether they had adhered to what others had thought out before them, or whether they had themselves taken a step in advance in this career, which is open to inventive and perfective genius. For want of such decisive monuments, being unprovided even with such Chinese works as could supply the want in presenting us with syllabaries, with alphabets, or with words expressed in the characters in question, we are reduced to conjectures regarding the system of writing followed by the Tsitan and the Neu-chĭh. - J. P. Abel Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares* (1820); quoted in A. Wylie, "On an Ancient Inscription in the Neu-chih Language" (1860).

1.1 Background

Until the twentieth century the only known surviving text in Kitan was the *Record of the Journey of the Younger Brother of the Emperor of the Great Jin Dynasty* (the Langjun inscription), engraved on the "stele without an inscription" in front of the tomb of Empress Wu Zetian of the Tang dynasty in Xi'an. It was well known before modern times, but scholars thought it was in the Jurchen script, being misled by the reference to the Great Jin Dynasty. It was included in the Ming compilation of inscriptions, the *Shi mo juan hua* [Selected lapidary inscriptions] by Zhao Han (1618), and reproduced in several Qing collections, usually with a note: "not a single character can be understood". The Langjun inscription is a bilingual, and the Chinese text is explicitly stated to be a translation of the Kitan. In 1860, Wylie made a study of this inscription, giving a translation of the Chinese text. It was only after the discovery of the Kitan inscriptions in the tombs of the Liao emperors at Qingling, first published by Louis Kervyn in 1924, that scholars realized that the scripts were identical. A number of studies followed, which were

published together with rubbings, transcriptions and other related material under the title *Liaoling shike jilu* [Corpus of inscriptions from the Liao tombs] (Jin Yufu 1934). Until the 1980s, this was the basic and most important reference tool for the Kitan small script.

The *Liaoshi* refers to two Kitan scripts, the large and the small. It was not known which one was the script on the Langjun and Qingling inscriptions. Before 1950, the only known examples of Kitan were the four imperial epitaphs and the Langjun inscription, a total of about 3000 graphs. By the late 1970s, 19 texts were available, with about 10,000 graphs.

In the 1950s, the Xiao Xiaozhong inscription was discovered in a different type of Kitan script. This was similar to some earlier inscriptions in an unidentified script. In 1962, Jin Guangping published a study in which he argued that the script on the Langjun inscription and the Liao tombs was the Kitan small script, and that on the Xiao Xiaozhong inscription the Kitan large script. This is now generally accepted.

Little progress was made in the decipherment of either script until the publication of *Research on the Kitan Small Script* by Chinggeltei, Liu Fengzhu, Chen Naixiong, Yu Baolin and Xing Fuli in 1985, though the initial studies on which this book was based were published in the late 1970s. Basing themselves on the transcription of Chinese loanwords in the Kitan texts, they were able to establish readings for a number of graphs and on the basis of the values thus established to determine the pronunciation of several native Kitan words. About 25% of the graphs were given tentative readings. Practically all subsequent research has developed from this seminal work. This chapter summarizes research done prior to this publication, the methodology and major findings of *Research,* with some notes on more recent research.

1.2 Kitan words in Chinese works

Little is preserved on the language of the Kitans in Chinese works. There are about 200 words in the glossary appended to the *Liaoshi*, of which about a half are personal names and place names. Many of the rest are official titles. There are only about 40 basic words, such as *nügu* ‘gold’, *guwen* ‘jade’, *taoli* ‘hare’, *niehe* ‘dog’, *husï* ‘strength’ *jau* ‘hundred’, *ordo* ‘palace’. About one fifth of these words are similar to Mongol. There is some other material: the Kitan poem in the *Mengqi bitan,* the Northern poem by Yu Jing and the Kitan poem in the *Yijianzhi* by Hong Mai.

1.3 Creation of the Kitan scripts

After Yelü Abaoji established the Liao state, he turned his attention towards the creation of a written script for the Kitan language. The large script was created in 920. The script is clearly modeled on Chinese, and many graphs are the same or similar, but the principles are quite different. It is now becoming apparent that each large graph (such as 国) represented a syllable, in this case **gur*. This could write a word **gur* 'state', and could also be used in other words with the syllable **gur*. The innovation of the small script was that it wrote **gür* as 九夾 ‹g.úr›, with two symbols. 九 ‹g› could be used for any initial or final [g], and 夾 ‹úr› for any initial or final [úr]. Both scripts also had a number of logograms, which primarily stood for common words such as heaven, moon, man and the numerals, though these could also be used with their phonetic values. Chinese records state that the large script was based on the Chinese *li shu* "clerical script", but it is clearly much more similar to the Chinese calligraphic style known as *kai shu* "standard script", and the small script is similar to the cursive style known as *xing shu* "running script". The date of the creation of the smaller script is not given, but the generally accepted date is 925. This was more than a century before the earliest extant inscription, the *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao,* dated 1053.

1.4 Use of the Kitan script under the Jin

The Jurchens continued to use the Kitan scripts, even after the creation of two Jurchen scripts, the large in 1119, and the small in 1138. An edict dated 1138 ordered that Jurchen, Kitan and Chinese be used in official documents for the relevant parts of the population. More than thirty Jurchen mentioned in the *Jinshi* were familiar with the Kitan script. The Jin government assigned a number of posts to officials who were familiar with the Kitan script and language, some close to the emperor, others in the presidential council. In 1151, the staff of the Hanlin academy included seven persons familiar with the Kitan script. In 1156, it was officially ordered that in the examination for copyist in the Department of National Historiography the Jurchen copyists be able to translate Kitan into Jurchen, and the Kitan copyists Chinese into Kitan. Even the Jin emperor Shizong commented, "The new Jurchen script cannot match it". The Chinese original was first written in the Kitan small script and then annotated in or translated into the Jurchen script. This was the procedure followed by Yelü Chucai's father, Yelü Lü, when he translated the *History of the Tang Dynasty* into Kitan, using the small script. In 1191 the Jin emperor Zhangzong ordered that Jurchen should be directly translated into Chinese. Clerks of the Department

of National Historiography who knew only the Kitan script were dismissed. In 1192, the position of Kitan secretary was abolished in all ministries. Yelü Chucai (1189-1243) learned Kitan during his stay with the Karakitai and translated a Kitan poem into Chinese. The Kitan script was abolished by the Jin Emperor Zhangzong in 1191-1192. Yelü Chucai seems to be the last person mentioned in Chinese records who had a knowledge of the Kitan language and script.

1.5 The Kitan inscriptions

Most of the extant corpus consists of epitaphs for the Kitan nobility. There are many Chinese inscriptions from the Liao, some of which are connected with the Kitan texts. The earliest collection was Chen Shu 1982. More recent collections are Xiang Nan 1995 and Gai Zhiyong 2002, which also contains some photographs and hand copies of Kitan texts. For a general discussion on the Liao inscriptions, see Yang Ruowei 1993. The Chinese texts contain of a certain number of sections: the name of the Kitan state, the name and official titles of the subject of the epitaph, the name and official titles of its composer, the preface, a rhymed text and a final date.

The dates are given by reference to the reign title, followed by the year of the reign and the position in the sexagenary cycle expressed in Chinese by the ten stems and the twelve branches, and in Kitan by the five colours and the twelve animals. The preface of the inscription gives some details of the life of the person concerned: his ancestors, his wife, their children and their spouses. Then there is a poem in praise of the person's achievements. The inscription ends with the date of the person's death, and the date of the burial, followed by the name of the composer of the text. The information in the following paragraphs sets out the terms indicating the reign titles, the sexagenary stems and other information common in the epitaphs.

1.6 Name of the Liao State

The Great Kitan State was founded in 907 and was defeated by the Jurchens in 1125. The first use of the name Liao seems to have been in 947. In 983 the state changed its name back to the Great Kitan State. It is generally understood that the reason for the first change of name was the inclusion of non-Kitan nationalities in the state, and the reason for the second change of name was the reassertion of Kitan nationalism. In Chinese inscriptions it is generally referred to as *Da Liao Guo* "the Great Liao State". In the Kitan inscriptions it has a longer and more enigmatic title, incorporating between the words 'great' and 'state' a number of words which are interpreted as

meaning ‘central’ (though two quite different words are used at different times), a word which means Kitan and another of unknown meaning, which is perhaps the Kitan word for Liao. This term is discussed in detail in 4.58.

1.7 The Yelü clan and the Xiao clan

All the inscriptions, with the exception of those of two emperors, two empresses and the imperial uncle and his consort, are epitaphs for members of the Kitan aristocracy. Many of these have the clan name 耶律 Yelü, and were members of the clan of Abaoji, the founder of the Kitan state. Others have the clan name 蕭 Xiao, which, as the *Liaoshi* informs us, was the “consort clan”. However, no one term corresponding to Xiao has yet been identified in the Kitan inscriptions. What we find are a number of clan names: the Shulü 述律, the Bali 拔里 and the Yishiji 乙室已. These were apparently merged during the course of the dynasty. Yuan historians suggested the Kitan terms for Xiao was Shimo 石抹, but this does not seem to be the case; the Kitan equivalent of Shimo was Shenmi 審密 (Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949:238), a term which occurs in the inscriptions. We also find the names of some Chinese, in particular Han Zhigu and his family, and a number of other clans. Kitan social hierarchy was complex, with senior and junior patriarchal tents, imperial maternal uncles and many combinations, for which Wittfogel and Fêng 1949 may be consulted. Many of these terms have been identified in the Kitan texts.

1.8 Names of Liao emperors

A Liao emperor was given a number of personal names and titles. Each had a personal name 名 *ming*; this was called 諱 *hui* after his death. Many had Kitan childhood names, 小名 *xiaoming*. On reaching adulthood, he would receive an adult name 字 *zi* and perhaps a literary name 號 *hao*. When ascending the throne, an emperor received an honorific title 尊號 *zunhao* and after his death, a posthumous title *shi hao* 謚號. Historically, emperors are referred to by their temple title *miaohao* 廟號, sometimes preceded by the dynastic name. In the Kitan texts, a person has a Kitan “childhood name” a “second name”, and sometimes a Chinese name as well. The names and titles of the Liao emperors are as follows:

Taizu (916-926)
Taizong (939-947) (Abaoji)
Shizong (947-951)
Muzong (951-969)

Jingzong (969-979)
Shengzong (979-1031)
Xingzong (1031-1055)
Daozong (1055-1101)
Tianzuo (1101-1111)

1.9 Reign titles of Liao emperors

Generally speaking, each emperor adopted a new reign title on accession and changed the reign title several times during the rest of his reign. There were twenty-two reign titles during the Liao period; two covered the reigns of more than one emperor.

1 Shence	916-922	神冊	spirit appointment
2 Tianzan	922-926	天贊	heaven assistance
3 Tianxian	926-939	天顯	heaven manifest
4 Huitong	938-947	會同	assemble together
5 Datong	947-947	大同	great togetherness
6 Tianlu	947-951	天祿	heaven prosperity
7 Yingli	951-969	應曆	respond calendar
8 Baoning	969-979	保寧	protect tranquility
9 Qianheng	979-983	乾亨	heaven perseverance
10 Tonghe	983-1012	統和	government unity
11 Kaitai	1012-1021	開泰	open prosperity
12 Taiping	1021-1031	太平	great peace
13 Jingfu	1031-1032	景福	bright happiness
14 Chongxi	1032-1055	重熙	repeated splendour
15 Qingning	1055-1065	清寧	clear tranquility
16 Xianyong	1065-1075	咸雍	together harmony
17 Dakang	1075-1085	大康	great prosperity
18 Da'an	1085-1095	大安	great peace
19 Shouchang	1095-1101	壽昌(壽隆)	longevity prosperity
20 Qiantong	1101-1111	乾統	celestial government
21 Tianqing	1111-1121	天慶	heaven blessings
22 Baoda	1121-1125	保大	protect greatness

1.10 Reign titles of Jin emperors

23 Shou guo	1115-1118	收國	retake country
24 Tianfu	1118-1123	天輔	heaven assistance
24 Tianhui	1123-1138	天會	heaven meeting

25 Tianjuan	1138-1141	天眷	heaven favour
26 Huangtong	1141-1149	皇統	august government
27 Tiande	1149-1153	天德	heaven virtue
28 Zhenyuan	1153-1156	貞元	purity origin
29 Zhenglong	1156-1161	正隆	upright abundance
30 Dading	1161-	大定	great settlement

1.11 The ten stems and twelve branches

The Chinese designated years by a combination of the ten stems and twelve branches. The ten stems were: 甲 *jia* 乙 *yi* 丙 *bing* 丁 *ding* 戊 *wu* 己 *ji* 庚 *geng* 辛 *xin* 壬 *ren* 癸 *gui*. The twelve branches were 子 *zi* 丑 *chou* 寅 *yin* 卯 *mao* 辰 *chen* 巳 *si* 午 *wu* 未 *wei* 申 *shen* 酉 *you* 戌 *xu* and 亥 *hai*. These were combined to form a cycle of sixty years.

1.12 The five colours or the five elements

The ten stems of Chinese are represented by five symbols in Kitan. Turkic used words from Chinese: *qap, ir, pi, ti, bou, ku, qï VlP VlQ åIP l åIP NXL* In Tibetan, the ten stems correspond to the five elements: wood, fire, earth, metal, water. In Mongol and Manchu, the ten stems are expressed by the five colours, with modifications for the second of each pair. It is not known if the Kitan terms refer to colours, elements or something else, as they are not related to terms in other known languages. General opinion is tending towards regarding them as meaning the five colours. They come in two forms: with added dots for 'yellow' and 'white', with different suffixes (qu/qú, u/iú) for the others. These may represent the second of the pair, but analysis does not support this theory. It may reflect original usage, later blurred because the distinction, real in Chinese, was artificial in Kitan. Or it may refer to grammatical gender. The Kitan forms of these words are discussed under the relevant entries in Chapter Three.

1.13 Cyclical stems; the five elements; the five colours

Cyclical stems	Five elements	Five colours	Mongol	Manchu
甲乙 jia yi	木 mu wood	blue	küke kükekcin	niowanggiyan niohon
丙丁 bing ding	火 huo fire	red	ulaɣan ulaqcin	fulgiyan folahon
戊己 wu ji	土 tu earth	yellow	šira širaqcin	suwayan sohon

庚辛 geng xin	金 jin metal	white	caɣan caɣaqcin	šanyan šahon
壬癸 ren gui	水 shui water	black	qara qaraqcin	sahaliyan sahahon

1.14 The twelve animals

The Turks, Mongols and Manchus used twelve animals to designate years, corresponding to the twelve branches of the Chinese calendar. The correspondences are:

Chinese	Cyclical Branch	Mongol	Manchu	Old Turkish
鼠 rat	子 zi	quluqana	singgeri	sïčɣan/küskü
牛 ox	丑 chou	üker	ihan	ud
虎 tiger	寅 yin	bars	tasha	bars
兔 rabbit	卯 mao	taulai	gûlmahûn	tawïšɣan
龍 dragon	辰 chen	luu	muduri	luu
蛇 snake	巳 si	moɣai	meihe	yïlan
馬 horse	午 wu	morin	morin	yunt
羊 sheep	未 wei	qonin	honin	qoyn
猴 monkey	申 shen	bečin	bonio	bičin
雞 chicken	酉 you	takiya	coko<Ju. tiko	taqïqu
狗 dog	戌 xu	noqai	indahûn	it
豬 pig	亥 hai	ɣaqai	ulgiyan	laɣzïn/toŋuz

Further discussion on these terms in Kitan can be found in the English-Kitan Glossary in Chapter 3. Both the small script forms and the large script forms can be found in tabular form in Chapter Five.

1.15 Sources

The following inscriptions form the extant corpus of material in the Kitan small script. They are referred to by their conventional abbreviations. For details on their excavation, current location and publication details see Liu Fengzhu 1999.

(1) Bozhou 博州. *Jindai Bozhou fangyushi muzhi.* 金代博州防禦使墓誌. *Epitaph of the Defense Commissioner of Bozhou of the Jin Dynasty.* Dated

1170. This is the latest inscription found, written only 20 years before the formal abolition of the Kitan script in 1191.

(2) Cite 慈特. *Yelü Cite muzhi.* 耶律慈特墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Cite.* Dated 1082. 28 lines, 885 words.

(3) Daozong 道宗. *Daozong huangdi aice*. 道宗皇帝哀冊. *Eulogy for the Emperor Daozong*. Dated 1101. Excavated by 湯佐榮 Tang Zuorong, the son of the Governor of Rehe 湯玉麟 Tang Yulin, in 1930 from the Yongxing Tomb in modern Balin Right Banner of Inner Mongolia. 37 lines, of which 9 were reinscribed, 1134 words.

(4) Dilie 迪烈. *Yelü Dilie muzhiming*. 耶律迪烈墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie.* Dated 1092. 41 lines, 1740 words.

(5) Fushu 副署. *Yelü fushu muzhming.* 耶律副署墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Deputy Director Yelü.* Dated 1102. Discovered 1996 in the tombs of Yelü Qi family in Alukerqin Banner. 51 lines, 2000 words.

(6) Gaoshi 高十. *Yelü (Han) Gaoshi muzhi*. 耶律(韓) 高十墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Gaoshi.* Discovered 1995. Date unknown. Balin Right Banner, in the Han Kuangci family tombs. 51 lines of text; lower half of inscription is missing.

(7) Gu 故. *Gu Yelü shi mingshi.* 故耶律氏銘石. *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü.* Dated 1115. 25 lines, 699 words. Discovered 1969 in Ongniut Banner, Inner Mongolia.

(8) Gui 貴. *Yelü Gui muzhiming* 耶律貴墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Gui.* Dated 1102. Excavated Balin Right Banner. 31 lines, 1100 words.

(9) Haitang 海棠. *Haitangshan muzhi canshi.* 海棠山墓誌殘石. *Damaged epitaph found near Haitangshan*. Discovered in Fuxin, Liaoning province, 1991. Year of inscription unknown. 13 lines, about 300 words.

(10) Han Dilie 韓敵烈. *Han Dilie muzhiming*. 韓敵烈墓誌銘. Also known as *Yelü Dilie muzhiming* 耶律敵烈墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü (Han) Dilie.* Dated 1101. 34 lines, 1350 graphs. Discovered 1996.

(11) Hongyong 弘用. *Yelü Hongyong muzhiming.* 耶律弘用墓誌. *Epitaph of Yelü Hongyong.* Dated 1100. Discovered 1996. Also known as the *Wurigentala Inscription* or *Epitaph of Yelü Hongbian.* 32 lines, 847 graphs.

(12) Langjun 郎君. *Da Jin huang di dutong jinglüe langjun xingji.* 大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記. *Record of the Journey of the Younger Brother of the Emperor of the Great Jin Dynasty.* Also known as the *Langjun xingji* 郎君行記. Dated 1134 (Jin dynasty). Engraved on a stele in front of the tomb of Empress Wu of the Tang in Qian county, near Xi'an. The only extant Kitan-Chinese bilingual. The Kitan text has 5 lines with 97 words; the Chinese text has 6 lines with 108 characters.

(13) Liangguo 梁國. *Liangguo taifei muzhi.* 梁國太妃墓誌. *Epitaph of the Imperial Consort of the State of Liang.* Discovered in 2001 in Fuxin, Liaoning.

(14) Linggong 令公. *Xiao Linggong muzhi canshi.* 蕭令公墓誌殘石. *Damaged epitaph of Xiao Linggong.* Dated 1057. Discovered 1950 in Fuxin, Liaoning.

(15) Nu 奴. *Yelü Nu muzhiming.* 耶律奴墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Nu.* Dated 1099. Discovered 1999. 48 lines, 1274 words.

(16) Renxian 仁先. *Yelü Renxian muzhiming.* 耶律仁先墓. *Epitaph of Yelü Renxian.* Dated 1072. Discovered 1983. 70 lines, more than 5,100 words.

(17) Renyi 仁懿. *Renyi huanghou aice.* 仁懿皇后哀冊. *Eulogy for Empress Renyi.* Dated 1076. Discovered 1922. Along with the Xingzong inscription, the earliest tomb inscription to be found in modern times. 32 lines. The original stele is still in the Yongxing tomb.

(18) Shilu 實魯. *Shilu taishi muzhi bei.* 實魯太師墓誌碑. *Epitaph of Shilu taishi.* Dated 1100.

(19) Songwei 宋魏. *Song Wei Guo fei muzhiming.* 宋魏國妃墓誌銘. *Epitaph of the Imperial Consort of the States of Song and Wei.* Dated 1110. 24 lines, 642 words.

(20) Taishuzu 太叔祖. *Huang taishuzu aice.* 皇太叔祖哀冊. *Eulogy for the Imperial Grand Uncle.* Dated 1110. Discovered 1997. 25 lines, 807 words.

(21) Hanshi 韓氏. *Xiao Temei - Guoge fuma di'er furen Han shi muzhiming.* 蕭特每-闊哥駙馬第二夫人韓氏墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Mme. Han, second wife of the imperial son-in-law Xiao Temei-Kuoge.* 1078. Date and place of excavation not known. 35 lines, 814 words. Unpublished.

(22) Tuguci 圖古辭. *Xiao Tuguci muzhiming.* 蕭圖古辭墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Xiao Tuguci.* Dated 1068. Discovered 2000, Fuxin, Liaoning. 26 lines, 739 words.

(23) Xingzong 興宗. *Xingzong huangdi aice*. 興宗皇帝哀冊. *Eulogy for Emperor Xingzong.* Dated 1055. Only a handwritten copy is available. 36 lines, 861 words. The original stele is still in the Yongxing tomb.

(24) Xu 許. *Xuwang muzhi.* 許王墓誌. *Epitaph of Prince Xu.* Dated 1109. Discovered 1975 in Fuxin, Liaoning. Published 1977. 64 lines, 2157 words. 5 lines of Chinese text.

(25) Xuanyi 宣懿. *Xuanyi huanghou aice.* 宣懿皇后哀冊. *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*. Dated 1101. Excavated 1930 from the Yongfu tomb. 30 lines, 620 words.

(26) Yelü Langjun 耶律郎君. *Yelü Langjun canshi.* 耶律郎君殘石. *Damaged epitaph of Prince Yelü.* Dated 1085-1087. Discovered 1995. The upper right corner with the owner's name has been broken. 26 lines.

(27) Yongning 永寧. *Yelü Yongning langjun muzhiming* 耶律永寧郎君墓誌銘殘石. *Epitaph of Prince Yelü Yongning.* Dated 1088. Discovered 1995. 43 lines, 1041 words.

(28) Yongqing 永清. *Yongqing gongzhu muzhi.* 永清公主墓誌. *Epitaph of Princess Yongqing.* Also known as 蕭大山和永清公主墓誌 *Xiao Dashan he Yongning gongzhu muzhi*. *Epitaph of Xiao Dashan and Princess Yongqing.* Discovered 2003. 32 lines, 1373 words.

(29) Zezhou 澤州. *Zezhou cishi muzhi*. 澤州刺史墓誌. *Epitaph of the Prefect of Zezhou.* Also known as 涿州刺史墓誌 *Zhuozhou cishi muzhi*. Dated 1108. Discovered 1994.

(30) Zhixian 智先. *Yelü Zhixian muzhiming.* 耶律智先墓誌銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Zhixian*. Dated 1094. 27 lines, 1081 graphs.

(31) Zhonggong 仲公. *Xiao Zhonggong muzhi.* 蕭仲公墓志. *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong.* Dated 1150. Discovered 1942, published 1973. 50 lines, 2492 words.

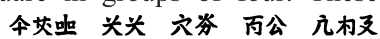
(32) Zongjiao 宗教. *Yelü Zongjiao muzhiming.* 耶律宗教墓志銘. *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao.* Dated 1053. Discovered 1991. The earliest inscription in the small script discovered so far.

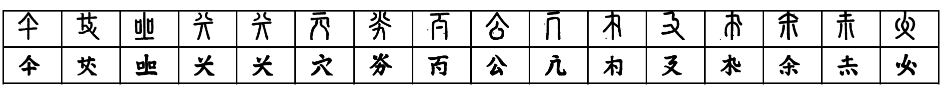
1.16 Early Chinese research

The Qingling Kitan epitaphs were accompanied by inscriptions in Chinese, but it soon became clear that the texts were not bilinguals. Nevertheless, early researchers were able to compare sections of text in both languages, determining some names, cyclical terms, numerals and placenames, sometimes correctly, sometimes not.

The small Kitan script looks similar to the Chinese "running script". There is also a "seal script" variety used on the canopies of the inscriptions, for example that of the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*:



Here we have sixteen graphs set in a square in groups of four. These corresponded to the "running script" forms  . In the main text, these elements were linked together. This suggested that Kitan words, written *en bloc*, were made up of discrete graphs. This led to the insight that the script was phonetic, or at least partially phonetic.



1.17 Arrangement of the small graphs to form words

In the inscriptions the graphs are linked together rather like Korean *hangul* and written from top to bottom, left to right.

①	①②	①②	①②	①②	①②	①②
		③	③④	③④	③④	③④
				⑤	⑤⑥	⑤⑥
						⑦

The combined graphs (words) are written down the page, from top to bottom, right to left, like Chinese.

Luo Fucheng (1933, 1934) was able to determine all the numerals except ‘five’ and ‘nine’, all the heavenly stems except *ding*, *wu* and *gui*, and all the earthly branches except *shen* and *hai.* He also deciphered the reign titles *Shouchang, Dakang, Qiantong, Chongxi* and *Qingning*, and the names of the emperors Daozong and Xingzong. Most of these are now generally accepted.

Wang Jingru 1933 is a comparison of the Daozong and Xuanyi epitaphs and of the Xingzong and Renyi epitaphs, which were excavated in 1930. Wang listed 72 Kitan words, the highest number of correct interpretations of that period. Luo Fucheng 1934 is a collection of all inscriptions known at that time, several studies by Japanese and Chinese scholars, and a translation of Kervyn’s report of his initial discovery. In his preface, Jin Yufu reviewed the discovery of the Qingling tombs, the account in the *Liaoshi* as to how the Kitan scripts were invented, and other historical material on Kitan. He concluded that the characters in the imperial epitaphs were the “small script”, and noted that this was still being used well into the Jin dynasty, even after the creation of the Jurchen script. He suggested that Mongol was the key to understanding Kitan.

There were few developments until the discovery of the *Epitaph of Xiao Linggong* (Li Wenxin 1954; Li Dingkui 1954). Li Dingkui noted that 公本矢 击九当 月伞 corresponded to Chinese 墓誌銘 *muzhiming* ‘epitaph, inscription on a tombstone’. He suggested that 叔金 雨仝 冈为本 corresponded to 奉敕撰 *feng chi zhuan* ‘composed by imperial edict’. He also noted that the same Kitan graph was used for both the first and second of the ten stems, *jia* and *yi,* and another graph was used for both the third and fourth of the ten stems, *geng* and *xin.* He thought the traditional correspondences between *jia* ~ *yi* and ‘wood’, and *geng* ~ *xin* and ‘metal’ meant that the Kitan graphs might mean ‘wood’ and ‘metal’ respectively, and that the ten stems were related to the traditional five elements (wood, metal, water, fire, earth). This was later to be known as “the five element theory”. In a later article, Li Dingkui 1957 suggested that 主王 ‘emperor’ and 主介 ‘empress’ were not Turkic words like *khan* and *qatun* but were loanwords from Chinese 皇帝 *huangdi* ‘emperor’ and 皇后 *huanghou* ‘empress’.

In 1973 the *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong* was discovered (Zheng Shaozong 1973; Wang Jingru 1973). Zheng Shaozong was able to confirm Li Dingkui’s proposal that 公本矢 means ‘tomb’ (actually ‘on the tomb’- 矢 is a locative suffix) and that 击九当 means ‘recorded’. From the dates he was able to determine the numerals ‘five’ and ‘nine’, thus completing the list of all the numbers from one to ten. Wang Jingru 1973 confirmed the Kitan forms of the reign titles Da’an and Tiande, recognised three new reign titles:

Tianfu, Huangtong and Tianjuan. He concluded that 令丙关 and 全丙关 are variants; both mean the reign title Tianhui; 令金万关 and 全金万关 are the same; both mean the reign title Tianjuan. He thought that perhaps 令 was a cursive form of 全.

1.18 Japanese research

Japanese scholars such as Shiratori Kurakichi and Haneda Toru showed an interest in Kitan quite early, but the first to deal with the Kitan script as such were Yamaji Hiroaki, Murayama Shichirō, Osada Natsuki and Otagi Matsuo. Yamaji 1956 argued that the Kitan characters, large and small, as well as the Jurchen script, could all be derived from Chinese characters through a series of stages. He distinguished ten ways of deriving characters: 丰 'year' is derived from Chinese 年 'year'; 关 'heaven, sky' is from Chinese 天 'heaven, sky'. These are possibly correct. But he extended the principle to derive 交 from Chinese 安 'peace', which is not correct. Yamaji suggested readings for about 70 Kitan graphs, of which about 10 are correct. Murayama Shichirō worked on the basis that the Kitan script was derived from the Old Turkic runiform script. 犭, for example, looks like the Old Turkic letter 𐰑, which is Turkic ‹d¹›. On the basis of such perceived similarities, 伏及犭 ‹mu.u.ji› 'sacred, holy, pertaining to the emperor 聖' was read **bogda,* cf. Mo. *bogda* 'sacred'. Murayama assumed the underlying language was Mongol, and that the script was derived from Turkic runiform.

Osada 1951 also attempted to identify the underlying language by comparing 31 Kitan words in Chinese transcription from the *Liaoshi* and other sources. He concluded that Kitan was unlike Mongol in many ways; it was more similar to Daur. He distinguished 327 elements in the script, which he divided these into logographs and phonetic symbols. There were 200 phonetic graphs, of 49 were of high frequency. The most common graphs initially were 仐 ‹s› (39 times) and 令 ‹t› (37 times). Medially, the most common graphs were 屮 ‹l› (39 times) and 为 ‹a› (37 times). In final position the most common graphs were 当 ‹én› (33 times) and 叉 ‹ún› (30 times). On the basis of these statistics, he concluded that 令 ‹t› 乏 ‹ś› and 业 ‹p› must be vowels. Zheng Shaozong 1957 analysed the composition of Kitan words into their component elements, and derived 402 separate graphs.

Otagi 1956 also presumed that the language underlying the Kitan script was some sort of Mongol. From an analysis of twelve dates in Kitan and Chinese, he identified the basic numerals, the stems and branches, some official titles and some other words. He identified the numerals 乇 'one' 圣 'two' 包 'three' 乇 'four' 戋 'five' 灰 'six' 戸 'seven' 丕 'eight' 关 (=杀) 'nine' 乇 'ten' and 丁 'twenty', but his suggested readings were based on Mongol

and lacked evidence. In more recent years the most insightful researcher has been Toyodo Gorō, whose contributions will be discussed later in this chapter.

1.19 Russian and other research

Rudov 1963 was also a study of the Kitan words in the *Liaoshi*. He found about 30, from more than 200, words similar to Mongol. He thought the Kitan script was a “special syllabic script”, in which sometimes a graph could sometimes represent a syllable, sometimes a whole word. He thought that the first words of the Langjun inscription [Kitan graphs] ‹GREAT GOLD g.úr:en qa.ha:an› ‘of the khan of the Great Jin State’ corresponded to 大金皇弟 *Da Jin huang di* ‘younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin dynasty’. So he concluded [Kitan] ‹g.úr:en› ‘of the state’ meant ‘emperor’, and [Kitan] ‹qa.ha:an› ‘of the khan’ meant ‘younger brother’. Proceeding from this, he suggested readings for a dozen or so graphs, with little success. Šavkunov 1963 compared several texts in Kitan with the Jurchen inscription at Nurgan, and concluded that the Langjun inscription was possibly in Jurchen, written in the Kitan script. Taskin 1963 also presumed that Kitan is a branch of Mongolic, and that the Kitan script is syllabic. He noticed that [Kitan graphs] ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i› on the canopy of the Daozong inscription, and [Kitan graphs] ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› ‘mid winter’ in the Langjun inscription both contain the word [Kitan] ‹dau.úr.ún›. He translated [Kitan graphs] [=] [Kitan] ‘Great Central Liao Kitan [State]’ as ‘The Great Kitan State Son of Heaven’.

Hambis 1963 is a report on the research findings of Luo Fucheng, with some comments on possible cognates. Starikov and Nadelyaev 1964 was a statistical analysis of the graphs. The Kitan texts were coded, each graph being given a number, and the corpus transcribed in an attempt to perceive underlying morphological patterns. So line 4 of the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi* [Kitan graphs] is transcribed 222 090-142-156 256-310 080 080-119 074-066-144 074-066-144 074-166-223 237-191-177 350 248 228 087 003-177 242-066-084 240 184 204 090-178-177. Starikov 1982, Arapov 1982 and Probst et al. 1986 are along the same lines.

1.20 The Kitan Small Script Research Group

Earlier research is now mainly of historical interest, though some important discoveries were made. The Kitan Small Script Research Group formed during the late 1970s, with Chinggeltei and Chen Naixiong at the University

of Inner Mongolia, and Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin at the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. Their research was based on the material available at that time: the Langjun inscription, the four imperial eulogies, and another four inscriptions excavated during the 1950s and 1960s. Using the conventional abbreviations, the texts were Langjun, Renyi, Daozong, Xuanyi, Xingzong, Xu, Linggong, Zhonggong and Gu. The results of their research were first published in 1977, which together with concordances, bibliographies and other studies, culminated in the monograph *Research on the Kitan Small Script* in 1985. This book is referred to hereafter as *Research.*

The first step was to identify place names, personal names, reign titles, dates, numerals, cyclical terms, places and official ranks in Kitan and Chinese. The Langjun inscription begins "the younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin" (大金皇弟) and lists his titles: 都統 *dutong* 'campaign commander', 經略 *jinglüe* 'military commissioner' and 郎君 *langjun* 'court attendant'. If the Kitan word for 'emperor' was borrowed from Chinese, as several scholars had suggested, the equivalent of 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor' should be found near the beginning of the inscription. Previous research had suggested that [Kitan] [Kitan] corresponded to 皇后 *huanghou* 'empress' and [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] to 皇太后 *huangtaihou* 'empress dowager'. So [Kitan] might correspond to 皇 *huang.* The last word in the Kitan version of the Langjun, Gu and Zhong inscriptions is [Kitan] ‹c.er›. The Chinese version of Langjun indicates these two graphs must mean 'written by, 題'. The words before [Kitan] ‹c.er› 'written by' should be a title or a personal name. The Chinese text gives the names of the writers of the inscription as 王圭 Wang Gui and 黃應期 Huang Yingqi. If [Kitan] is *huang*, one of the names in front of [Kitan] ‹ci.er› 'written by', [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan], might be the Kitan transcription of Huang Yingqi. Huang's official title was 尚書職方郎中 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 'director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat'. The first, fourth and fifth characters end in -*ang.* Above Huang's name we find the Kitan words [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› where [Kitan] ‹aŋ› occurs twice, corresponding to the final in the Chinese words 尚 *shang* and 郎 *lang*. It did not transcribe 方 *fang*, because in Liao Chinese 方 was probably pronounced **foŋ*. The other name, [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹oŋ g.ui› must be Wang Gui.

Determination of these graphs led to others. [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ›, in Xu 7 and Xu 8, is a common title: 令公 *linggong* 'lord'. [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› is Chinese 公主 *gongzhu* 'princess'. A place name in the Langjun inscription, 唐乾陵 *Tang Qianling* 'the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty' could then identified in the Kitan version. [Kitan] ‹aŋ›, [Kitan] ‹l› and [Kitan] ‹iŋ› were known, so Tang Qianling was written [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ta.aŋ ki.ên l.iŋ›. [Kitan] ‹en› is a genitive ending.

‹g.iŋ l.iau› must be a transcription of 經略 *jinglüe.* Wang Jingru had shown that ‹x.iŋ s.úŋ› was the Kitan transcription of the name of the emperor Xingzong, and ‹dau.u s.úŋ› the emperor Daozong. So ‹g.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di› must have been a transcription of *Jingzong huangdi* ‘the emperor Jingzong’.

On the right hand side of Xu there are five lines of Chinese, which contain the word 留守 *liushou* ‘regent, viceroy’. In the Kitan text we find ‹l.iu ś.eu›, giving ‹iu› and ‹eu›. Xu also contains an official title: 開府儀同三司 *kaifu yitong sansi* ‘commander unequalled in honour’. This corresponds to ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.úŋ s.a.am ss› in the Kitan inscription. ‹ŋ.i› is the transcription 儀 *yi*, from which we may presume an initial [ŋ] in Liao Chinese. ‹s.a.am› is a transcription of 三 *san,* indicating a final *-m* in Liao Chinese. We also find the term 尚父混 corresponding to Kitan ‹ś.aŋ pu hu.un›. So we can deduce that ‹hu.un tu.uŋ g.ün oŋ› transcribes 混同郡王 *hun tong jun wang*.

Similarly, ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› occurs in Xu 13. ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú› is a transcription of 同中書 *tongzhongshu*. The chapter on official titles in the *Liaoshi* lists the title 同中書門下平章事 *tongzhongshu menxia pingzhangshi*, which must correspond to this.

‹ś.iú m.i pu sh› in Xu 12 must be a transcription of 樞密副使 *shumi fushi* ‘deputy military affairs commissioner’. Ling 3 ‹tai sh› must be a transcription of 太師 *taishi* ‘grand preceptor’. In Dao 2, ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.uŋ l.uh da.ai pu› is a transcription of 銀青崇祿大夫 *yinqing chonglu dafu* ‘grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon’. ‹g.ui z.ï z.i s.iu› must be 國子祭酒 *guozi jijiu* ‘chancellor of the directorate of education’.

[Kitan] is used to transcribe [s] in ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam* ‘three’, [ts] in ‹z.úŋ› 宗 **zung* ‘ancestor’ and [tsh] in ‹s.iŋ› 青**cing* ‘blue’, suggesting that Kitan phonology did not distinguish [s], [ts] and [tsh].

In Gu 2, 大 in 崇祿大夫 *chonglu daifu* is written [Kitan] rather than [Kitan] ‹da.ai›, suggesting that [Kitan] and [Kitan] ‹da› are probably allographs. In the same inscription 金紫 is transcribed ‹gi.m z.ï›, showing 金 ‘gold’ had a final *m* in Liao Chinese.

The Kitan transcription of the Jin title 銀青光祿大夫 *yinqing guanglu daifu* appears in Zhong 21: ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu›. [Kitan] is ‹oŋ› rather than **uaŋ* because it is followed by the genitive suffix ‹on›, not ‹an›. ‹lu› is the equivalent of the cyclical term 辰 *chen,* which corresponds to the zodiac animal ‘dragon’, MMo. *luu.* Both the

MMo. and Kitan words are derived from Tu. *luu* and presumably ultimately from a dialect form of Ch. 龍 *long* 'dragon'.

[Kitan] ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u b.uh ei.ie› in Gu 2 must be a transcription of 尚書右僕射 *shangshu you puye* 'left vice director of the department of state affairs'. The word 僕 was *buk* in Middle Chinese, the Mandarin initial *p* is irregular. In Langjun 尚 *shang* is transcribed [Kitan] ‹c.aŋ›, in Xu it is written [Kitan] ‹ś.aŋ› and in Gu it is written [Kitan] ‹ca.aŋ›.

In Zhong 27, [Kitan] ‹l.i b.û sh.ï l.aŋ› should be a transcription of 禮部侍郎 *libu shilang* 'vice director of the ministry of rites'. Xu 11 [Kitan] ‹z.iŋ g.aŋ g.ün z.ie du sh› is a transcription of 靜江軍節度使 *Jingjiangjun jiedushi* 'military commissioner of the Jingjiang army'. Zhong 20 [Kitan] ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› transcribes 殿前都點檢 *dianqian du dianjian* 'chief inspector of the palace command'. In Langjun 2, [Kitan] ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› transcribes 宮殿 *gongdian* 'palace'. In Dao 6, [Kitan] ‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên› transcribes 仙游殿 *Xianyoudian* 'Hall of the Wandering Immortals'. In many words, [Kitan] ‹d› and [Kitan] ‹t› appear to be interchangeable. The difference between [Kitan] ‹d› and [Kitan] ‹t› is not known. Wang Jingru thought they might be allographs, but this seems unlikely.

The "temple names" of emperors contain either 祖 *zu* or 宗 *zong*. Gu 4 [Kitan] ‹tai z.ú śi.ŋ ŋ.y.n hoŋ di› is a transcription of *tai zu sheng yuan huang di* 太祖聖元皇帝, the temple name of Abaoji. In Gu 4, [Kitan] ‹i.i z.ú hoŋ di› is a transcription of 懿祖皇帝 Yizu huangdi, the temple name of Abaoji's great grandfather. In Gu 5, [Kitan] ‹d.ei z.ú hoŋ di› transcribes 德祖皇帝 Dezu huangdi, the temple name of Abaoji's father.

[Kitan] ‹pu› transcribes *fu* in 父, 府, 副, 夫 and 傅. It seems likely that [Kitan] was meant to write Kitan [pu] but also used to write Chinese [fu]. The modified [Kitan] was presumably devised for Chinese, but the distinction became blurred, especially if the Kitans pronounced Chinese [fu] as [pu]. Zhong 8 [Kitan] ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› must be a transcription of 輔國上將軍 *fuguo shang jiang jun* 'bulwark generalissimo of the state'. In Langjun 1, [Kitan] ‹l.iáŋ ś.a.an› transcribes 梁山 Liangshan. Xu 12 [Kitan] ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› is 金吾衛上將軍 *jinwuwei shang jiangjun* 'generalissimo of the imperial insignia guard'. Zhonggong 21 [Kitan] ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün oŋ› transcribes 蘭陵郡王 *Lanlingjun wang* 'prince of Lanling prefecture'. In Xu 9, Lanlingjun is written [Kitan] ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün›, confirming [Kitan] is an allograph of [Kitan] ‹an›.

Xu 6 [Kitan] ‹a.an g.ui g.ün› is 安國軍 *anguojun* 'pacification army'. Zhong 19 [Kitan] ‹b.iau g.i.i da.ai s.iaŋ g.ün› is 驃騎大將軍 *biaoji da jiangjun* 'cavalry general'. Zhonggong 20 [Kitan]

[Kitan] ‹z.o gi.m ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ› transcribes 左金衛上將 *zuo jinwei shang jiang* 'left gold senior general of the imperial insignia guard'. Zhonggong 20 [Kitan] ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün› is a transcription of 龍虎衛上將軍 *longhuwei shang jiangjun* 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guard'.

Zhong 22 [Kitan] ‹xa.áŋ tai ca.aŋ ś.iú ś.iáŋ:en s.o ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› transcribes 行台尚書省左丞相 *xingtai shang shu zuo chengxiang* is 'left prime minister of the department of state affairs'. [Kitan] ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› is 尚書左丞相 *shangshu you chengxiang* 'right prime minister of state affairs'. [Kitan] ‹ss› transcribes 司 *sï* in 開府儀同三司 **kaifu yitong sansi;* [Kitan] ‹ś.en c.eu:un ss sh› transcribes 沈州刺史 *Shenzhou cishi* 'prefect of Shenzhou'. This again indicates that Kitan did not distinguish Chinese [s] and [tsh].

Gu 2 [Kitan] ‹s.i ś.ui ki.ên g.ui b.ah› is 漆水縣開國伯 *Qishuixian kaiguobo* 'dynasty founding earl of Qishui county'. Zhonggong 19 [Kitan] ‹s.y.iên x.ui □.n› is the equivalent of 宣徽 *Xuanhuiyuan* 'court ceremonial institute'. The reading of [Kitan] is problematic. See 2.102. In the transcription of 開府儀同三司 *kaifu yitong sansi*, 開 *kai* is transcribed [Kitan] ‹k.ai›, but in 開國伯 *kaiguobo* it is written [Kitan] ‹x.ai›. In Zhong 5 守司空 *shou sikong* is transcribed [Kitan] ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ›, again using [Kitan] ‹x› for Chinese [kh].

Xu 12 [Kitan] ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n› is a transcription of 樞蜜院 *shumiyuan* 'bureau of military affairs'. Xu 49 [Kitan] ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ:un pu b.u ś.iú› transcribes 長寧宮副部署 *Changninggong fu bushu* 'deputy administrator of the Changning palace'. [Kitan] ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.oi pu› in Zhong 18 is 元帥府 *yuan shuai fu* 'headquarters of a marshal'. Dao 2 [Kitan] ‹w.u g.î úi.i› is a transcription of 武騎尉 *wujiwei* 'commandant of military cavalry'. 騎 is transcribed [Kitan] ‹g.i.i› above but [Kitan] ‹g.î› here, showing [Kitan] ‹î› = [Kitan] ‹i.i›.

1.21 Research on Kitan words in Chinese sources

There have been several studies on the Kitan words in the glossary appended to the *Liaoshi* and some Song travel memoirs, notably Franke 1969, 1976 and 1982, Vovin 2003 and Shimunek 2007. Not long after the discovery of the Qingling inscriptions, Luo Fucheng identified 尀 **po* with [Kitan] ‹po› time', 陶里 **tauli* with [Kitan] ‹tau.lí.a› 'rabbit' (the cyclical branch 卯) and 捏褐 [niehe < neho] with [Kitan] ‹ńi.qo› 'dog' (the cyclical branch 戌). Zheng Shaozong identified [Kitan] ‹tau› as 'five' (討 **tau*). They were also discussed *passim* in Wittfogel and Fêng 1949. These words are not dealt with in this book, unless they can be identified with actual Kitan words in the Kitan texts.

1.22 Research since *Research*

In the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi*, [Khitan] corresponds to 宣懿太后 *Xuanyi taihou* ‘the empress Xuanyi’. Clearly [Khitan] corresponds to ‘empress’. The *Liaoshi* glossary explains the word 耨斡么**nou’emo* as 后土 *houtu* ‘deity of the earth’ and 母 *mu* ‘mother’. Cf. *Liaoshi* 71: “The Liao, following the Turks, called their empress 可敦 *kedun* (= *qatun*). In their national language they called her 賦俚蹇 *telijian* (= **terigen*). The term of respect was 耨斡么**neu’omo*, because it was said that she was ‘the empress of the earth”. In Chinese inscriptions, it is common to see 天 *tian* ‘heaven’ contrasted to 地 *di* ‘earth’. In the Kitan inscriptions, too, [Khitan] ‘heaven’ is found in contrast with [Khitan] ‘earth’. Shen Hui 1980 observed that the words in the Daozong epitaph [Khitan] must correspond to Chinese 天長地久 ‘heaven is eternal and earth is forever’.

In a series of articles (1983b, 1989a, 1993c, 1995) Liu Fengzhu made a number of important discoveries. In *Xuanyi* 19, for example, we read the following rhymed lines:

[Khitan]	ů.bo ů.bo neu.e as.ar
[Khitan]	g.e.cẻn g.e.cẻn ỏ ho
[Khitan]	ho.ci m.in.is g.u tau.lí.a
[Khitan]	giů doro.i nigu hu.ho

[Khitan] ‹tau.lí.a› means ‘hare’. The *Liaoshi* glossary tells us the word for ‘jade’ was 孤穩 *guwen* = **gu’un.* This corresponds to [Khitan] ‹g.u›. So [Khitan] ‹g.u tau.lí.a› means ‘jade hare’, a poetic term for ‘moon’. The corresponding term for ‘sun’ is 金烏 *jin niao* ‘golden bird’. [Khitan] is used in the Langjun inscription in the formal title of the Jin dynasty. [Khitan] is an allograph of [Khitan] used with masculine nouns. The word following [Khitan], [Khitan] ‹hu.ho› should be ‘bird’, cf. Ju. ‘crow’ **gaha.* [Khitan] is a logograph meaning variously ‘ceremony’, ‘ritual’ or ‘seal’. It was probably pronounced **doro.* [Khitan] is a logograph transcribed GOLD♂, used with nouns of masculine gender. The word ‘gold’ was pronounced something like **nigu.* See 2.285.

On the canopy of the *Epitaph of the Prince of Xu*, we read: [Khitan] ‹da.ha.ai o.ju.hu DAY 292.o ś.eu.kả on.a.án› corresponding to 掩閉日甘露絳 *yanbi ri gan lu jiang* ‘on the day of the covering, sweet dew descended’. From which we can deduce [Khitan] ‹da.ha.ar o.ju.hu› means ‘to cover [the coffin]’, [Khitan] ‹292.o ś.eu.kả› means ‘sweet dew’ and [Khitan] ‹on.a.án› is a past tense: ‘descended, came down, fell’.

In the *Eulogy for Emperor Daozong,* in 徙殯於仙游殿之西階 *xi bin yu Xianyoudian zhi xi jie* 'it was transferred for burial to the steps at the west of the Xianyoudian', 徙 corresponds to [Khitan] ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei›. This is ‹x.ui› 'to come' with a causative suffix followed by a converb suffix. The word following [Khitan] ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei›, namely [Khitan] ‹kė.d.ha.ai›, must mean 殯 *bin* 'to bury', with a converb suffix. This word is also in *Renyi* 13, and likewise corresponds to 殯 *bin* in the Chinese inscription.

In the eulogies for Renyi, Daozong and Xuanyi, we find the word [Khitan] ‹l.iu.rėn.er› or [Khitan] ‹l.iu.rėn.en› after the year, month and date indicating the time of death. These seem to be honorific terms corresponding to Chinese 崩 *beng* 'to die [of an emperor or empress]'. The stem is [Khitan] l.iu.rėn› and [Khitan] ‹er› and [Khitan] ‹én› are suffixes indicating the gender of the subject.

In following the career of Prince Xu, we read: [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹j.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ d.em.l.ge.er› (Xu 7). [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ› is the title 中書令 *zhongshuling* 'secretariat director'. In line 34 we read [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ś.eu tai pu d.em.le.ge.ei›. [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ś.eu tai pu› is 守太傅 *shou taifu* 'acting grand mentor'. In line 35 we read [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ś.eu tai sh d.em.le.ge.ei›. [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ś.eu tai sh› is 守太師 *shou taishi* 'acting grand preceptor'. Similarly, in Zhong 8 we read [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.ei›. [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› is 輔國上將軍 *fuguo shang jiangjun* 'bulwark generalissimo of the state'. In Zhong 22 we read [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ci.ŋ oŋ d.em.le.ge.ei›. [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ci.ŋ oŋ› is 郕王 *Cheng wang* 'the prince of Cheng'. In line 23 we read [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹y.e g.ui oŋ d.em.le.ge.er›. [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹y.e g.ui oŋ› is 越國王 *Yueguo wang* 'prince of the state of Yue'. In each of these expressions, an official title is followed by [Khitan] ‹d.em.le.ge.ei› except the last in the series, which is [Khitan] ‹d.em.le.ge.er›. It is clear from the context that [Khitan] ~ [Khitan] means 'to be enfeoffed, to be awarded an honorary title' (封 *feng*). The stem is [Khitan] ‹d.em›, [Khitan] ‹le.ge› is a causative/passive suffix, [Khitan] ‹ei› is a converb ending and [Khitan] ‹er› indicates the past tense of the finite verb following stems with the vowel [e].

Official titles were sometimes designated by the number of characters used to designate the rank of the person concerned. The highest rank had only one character. This was known as 一字王 *yi zi wang* 'one character prince', e.g. the prince of Yan. The equivalent in Kitan can be found in Zhong 4: [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ONE us.g:en oŋ›. [Khitan] ‹en› is a genitive/attributive suffix. In Xu 16, 23, 34 and 37 we find [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹g.uŋ c.in FOUR us.gi:d›, where ‹g.uŋ c.in› is 功臣 *gongchen* 'meritorious official'. [Khitan] is 'four' and [Khitan] ‹d› is a plural ending. The equivalent title in Chinese is 四字功臣 *si zi gongchen*. in Xu 35 we have [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹g.úŋ c.in us.gi:d SIX›

‘meritorious official designated by six characters 六字功臣 *liu zi gongchen*’. In Ling 6 we have [Kitan script] ‹g.uŋ c.in EIGHT us.gi:d› ‘meritorious official designated by eight characters 八字功臣 *ba zi gongchen*’. The reading ‹us› for [Kitan script] is based on a possible connection with Mo. *üsüg* ‘writing’.

In Ren 8 we read [Kitan script] ‹t.ai s.uŋ g.úr en qa ź.in s.úŋ› ‘Renzong, Khan of the Great Song State’. [Kitan script] must be an allograph of [Kitan script] ‹ai›. Renzong was the Song emperor at the time Xingzong was emperor of the Liao. Here we have the word [Kitan script] ‹qa› ‘khan’ as distinct from [Kitan script] ‹qa.ha› ‘khaghan’. Zhong 21 [Kitan script] ‹qa.an g.ui g.uŋ› is a transcription of 韓國公 *Hanguo gong* ‘lord of the state of Han’, suggesting that [Kitan script] ‹qa› was a fricative.

The Langjun inscription is dated 時天會十二年歲次甲寅仲冬十有四日 ‘the time was the fourteenth day of mid-winter, *jiayin* year, the twelfth year of the Tianhui reign period’. Wang Jingru 1933 proposed that [Kitan script] ‹dau.úr.ún› was 仲冬 *zhongdong* ‘mid-winter’. Chinggeltei 1976 proposed that since 仲 *zhong* means the same as 中 *zhong* ‘middle’, [Kitan script] ‹dau.úr.ún› might be related to Mo. *dumda* ‘middle’, Da. *duanda* ‘middle’.

Zhong 6 contains the phrase [Kitan script] ‹qid.ún:i g.úr:en us.gi:de›. [Kitan script] ‹g.úr:en› is ‘country, state’ (genitive) and [Kitan script] ‹us.gi:de› means ‘writing, script’ (locative). So [Kitan script] ‹g.úr:en us.gi:de› must mean ‘in the national script’. The first word must be the name of a state. So [Kitan script] ‹qid.ún.i› must be the Kitan word for Kitan.

Zhong 6 can be read as: [Kitan script] ‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún:i GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón SIX WHITE mo.ri ai, FIVE MONTH THREE DAY:de BORN:er› ‘the prince was born on the third day of the fifth month of the white horse year, the sixth year of the Kitan Da’an reign period’. [Kitan script] ‹de› is a locative suffix, [Kitan script] ‹er› a past tense suffix. Xiao Zhonggong was a Liao noble taken prisoner by the Jin. In the inscription, the early events of his life are referred to in terms of how old he was at that particular time. It was not until the sixth year of the Tianfu 天輔 reign period of the Jin dynasty, when he was taken prisoner, that the years are referred to according to the Jin system. The Jin always referred to the Liao as Kitans, never as Liao.

In Renyi 4, [Kitan script] ‹mu.i án.ar.bo.ń hoŋ tai heu ei.ra.u.ud.i n.ad.bú:en 201.kå.i mu.u.ji x.i.iŋ s.úŋ HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.ar.a hoŋ di:en qad.ún:n›. [Kitan script] ‹hoŋ tai heu› is 皇太后 *huang tai hou* ‘empress’. [Kitan script] ‹ei.ra.u.ud› is ‘Yelü’. [Kitan script] ‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ› is Xingzong. [Kitan script] ‹HEAVEN ú.dû.l.ha.ar.(a)› is the reign title Chongxi. [Kitan script] means ‘emperor’. According to the *Liaoshi*, the Kitans followed the Turks in

calling the empress *kedun,* so Liu Fengzhu suggested [Khitan] ‹qad.ún› is *qatun*, 'wife of the khan'. [Khitan] ‹n› is perhaps a genitive ending.

Gu 1 reads: [Khitan] ‹m.o ei.ra.u.ud.i ci.lú.dû t.il.uh.iń z.iaŋ g.ün ś.ï t.ad.i áu.ui:en ne.ra:de RECORD.g:én TEXT.ú c.eu û.ún ci.ge.ho›. [Khitan] ‹m.o› is 'great'. [Khitan] ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i› is Yelü with a suffix, probably genitive. [Khitan] ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› means 'epitaph, inscription on a tombstone'. [Khitan] ‹z.iaŋ g.ün› is 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general'. [Khitan] ‹t.il.uh.iń› should be the name of the general, perhaps *Dilgun. His clan name may have been Churud [Khitan] ‹ci.lú.dû›. In Gu 4 we have [Khitan] ‹ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.an tai oŋ›. [Khitan] ‹ei.ra.u.ud› means Yelü. [Khitan] ‹s.ar.ha.an› must correspond to the personal name Salan found in Chinese texts. [Khitan] ‹tai oŋ:on› is the genitive form of 大王 'great king'. Note the genitive ending [Khitan] ‹on›, indicating the vowel in 王 was [o].

In Gu 5, 太祖聖元皇帝 *Taizu shengyuan huangdi,* 懿祖皇帝 *Yizu huangdi* and 德祖黃帝 *Dezu huangdi* are listed among the ancestors of the occupant of the tomb. [Khitan] ‹aú.ui› is the official status of the owner, corresponds to the Chinese term 娘子 *niangzi* 'royal highness'. The word preceding this is her name: [Khitan] ‹t.ad.i›. In Gu 3 we read [Khitan] ‹aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i› 'her highness' name was *Tadi. [Khitan] ‹i.ri› means 'name'.

After a name we often find the title [Khitan] ‹pu.is.iń›. Liu Fengzhu identified this with Chinese 夫人 *furen* 'madame'. Tadi's name and titles are followed by [Khitan]. The first graph, [Khitan], is 'six'. The term 六院部人 *liu yuan bu ren* 'a member of the six groups' is common in the *Liaoshi* biographies. Liu concluded that [Khitan] must correspond to 六院部. [Khitan] ‹u.ur› can also mean 院 *yuan* 'division'. The graph [Khitan] remains a problem. In some contexts it seems to mean 'south', in others a tribal unit. In the third line of Zhong we find [Khitan], so perhaps [Khitan] and [Khitan] ‹mo.qú› both mean something like 'tribe', cf. Ma. *mukûn* 'clan, extended family, kindred'.

The logographs [Khitan] and [Khitan] refer to the stems 戊 *wu* and 己 *ji*. But [Khitan] also occurs in the first line of the Langjun inscription, where it corresponds to 金 *jin*, the Jin dynasty. 金 *jin* here means 'gold' rather than 'metal': the Jurchens referred to their state as **alčun,* 'gold'. But the two stems 戊 *wu* and 己 *ji* correspond to the element 土 *tu* 'earth' in the five elements, not 金 *jin* 'metal'. Yamaji 1956 was the first to suggest that as the Mongols and Manchus use colours to correspond to the elements, perhaps the Kitans did the same. Yamaji suggested that [Khitan] could mean both 'yellow' and 'gold'. Ji Shi 1981 also argued that the Kitans used the five colours to indicate the heavenly stems. The *Qidanguo zhi* [Kitan State Annals] notes that the river known in Chinese as the 潢河 Huang river was called 梟羅個沒里 **niao-luo-go mo-li* and 女古沒里 **niu-gu mo-li* in Kitan. The river is now known

by its Mongol name, *Šira müren* ‘yellow river’. In *Liaoshi* 31, we read that the Kitan word for ‘gold’ was *nü-gu* ‘金曰女古’. This suggests that the Kitan name of the Jin dynasty was**nügu* ‘gold’, the same as the Chinese and Jurchen names for the Jurchen state. Ling 4 ‹tai ś.iŋ HEAVEN GOLD♂ hoŋ di› and Xu 5 ‹tai s.ú HEAVEN GOLD♂ hoŋ di› indicate that seems to be the name or the reign title of an emperor. In Daozong 10, we also find preceding ‘emperor’. We read in the *Qidanguo zhi* that “in the first year of the Shence period, Abaoji declared himself emperor. The people of the state called him 天皇王 *tianhuangwang* ‘heaven august king’.” Perhaps 皇 *huang* ‘august’ was translated by the homophone 黃 ‘yellow’, especially if also meant ‘gold’.

The Confucian virtue ‘humaneness 仁’ appears in the name ‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji›, corresponding to Chinese 仁聖 Rensheng. ‹mu.u.ji› means 聖 *sheng* ‘holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor’, so ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› must be 仁 *ren*. The connection is not clear: ‹hur.ú› seems to mean ‘person in control, person in charge of’. The name and official title of the composer of the text, Yelü Gu, is given in the Daozong inscription. Most of his official titles are transcriptions from Chinese, but the term ‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i› is Kitan. The graph , transcribed here ‹KNOW›, corresponds to Chinese 知 *zhi*, which is used in official titles in the sense of ‘to administer, to be in charge of’. In the *Chapter on Rituals* in the *Liaoshi*, we learn that Yelü Gu was the 総知翰林院事 *zongzhi Hanlinyuan shi* ‘in overall charge of the Hanlin academy’. So Shen Hui concluded that must mean ‘in charge of the Hanlin academy’. So ‹hur.ú› should mean ‘to be in charge of’. The officials in charge of the 翰林 *hanlin* ‘forest of pens’ [written matters] were the Hanlin academicians. The *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü* (Gu) was dated the fifth year of the Tianqing period of the emperor 天祚 Tianzuo (1115). There are four empty spaces in line 10, followed by ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau›. The last two graphs are ‘nine’ and ‘five’. 九五 *jiu wu* ‘nine five’ is from the *Book of Changes* and refers to the accession to the imperial throne. The first word ‹ún.n› is ‘now, present’. ‹mu.u.ji:en› is the genitive of 聖 *sheng* ‘holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor’. So ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau› means ‘when the present emperor ascended the throne’. We find a similar expression in Renyi 5: ‹mu.u.ji HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ di› ‘the present sacred one [emperor], the heavenly peace [Qingning] emperor’. Qingning was a reign period of Daozong, who was emperor when the Renyi epitaph was composed.

In Gu 17 we read: ‹FOUR ń.iau.ń.er THREE♂ k.iú ONE m.ô.qú›. We would expect this to mean ‘four children, three male,

one female' (Wang Hongli 1998). The second word is 伏考伏券 ‹ń.iau.ń.er›, cf. Da. *noon* 'boy, son'. The word after 包 ‹THREE♂› is 叔火 ‹k.iú›, cf. Da. *keuke* ~*keku* 'child' (Liu Fengzhu 1987:153-161).

Toyoda Gorō suggested that the common word 全杏 might mean 'night', which he compared to MMo. *süni,* Mo. *söni* (Liu Fengzhu 1995). If so, Zhong 9 全杏村 非朱 ‹s.uni:en po:do› would mean 'at night time'. In Xu 10 and Renxian 41, 全杏 天关 ‹s.uni DAY.i› is 'night and day'. In Renxian we find 口 全杏 ‹qi s.uni› 'that night' and 乇 全杏矢 ‹ONE s.uni:de› 'on one night'. So 杏 'ox' and its corresponding cyclical branch 丑 *chou* should be read ‹uni›, cf. Mo. *üniye* 'cow' (Liu Fengzhu 1995). Toyoda 1998b also suggested 乂 乇 伏及犭 为生伏 ‹SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.ń› means 'the sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦'.

In Xing 31, we read 了 乇 朩本屮 公及 付力 亟 去交 卅欠 付冬 夯秀亟 丰 又及 ‹EIGHTY ONE ci.ra.l n.o, bo.qo qa eu.úr zǒ.qó b.as ên.is.ha.ai m.o›. In several inscriptions, 又及 ‹m.o› 'big, great [older]', is contrasted with 卅欠 ‹zǒ.qó›, which in this context must mean 'younger'. The expression 去交 卅欠 ‹eu.úr zǒ.qó› can also be found in Zhong 34: 去交 卅欠朱 ‹eu.úr zǒ.qó:do› 'when he was young' with the locative suffix 朱 ‹do›. If 卅欠 ‹zǒ.qó› means 'young', we can understand the common expression 力亟出券 卅欠 丈村 ‹na.ha.án.er zǒ.qó TENT:en›. In Xu 3, there are a few spaces before 九交村 力亟出券 卅欠 丈村 岁雨 全同 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zǒ.qó ŋ.in s.iŋ›, followed by a suffix of unknown meaning. This should be the status and title of the composer of the inscription. In the Chinese part of the Xu inscription we find the expression 翁帳銀青 *wengzhang yinqing.* 岁雨 全同 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ› is 銀青 *yinqing*. So 卅欠 丈村 must be 翁帳 *weng zhang.* The graph 丈 ‹TENT› looks like 丈 ‹MONTH›; in many transcriptions they are confused. Wang Hongli translated 九交村 力亟出券 卅欠 丈村 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.an.er zǒ.qó TENT:en› as 'the tent of the junior maternal uncles'. According to the *Chapter on Officials* in the *Liaoshi*, there were two categories of 翁帳 *wengzhang:* the 大翁帳 *da wengzhang* and the 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang.* So 力亟出券 卅欠 丈村 ‹na.ha.án.er zǒ.qó TENT:en› can be translated 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang* 'of the lineage of the junior maternal uncles'.

1.23 Other research

Wang Hongli 1986 agreed with Osada's suggestion that Prince Xu was Yelü Wotela, that the word 北屮付伏 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› meant 'first, first-born', 序 *xu* 'preface [in an inscription]' and 朔 *shuo* 'first day of the month'. He deciphered the words for boy, eldest son, second son, third son, fourth son, 'age at death' and 'sixty' and concluded that Empress Renyi died at the age

of 62. Wang Hongli 1988 is a discussion on why scholars could not agree on the word for Kitan in Kitan.

Ji Shi is one of the most prolific writers on Kitan. His decipherment of many graphs, such as father, mother, wife, son, uncle, second son, third son, family, *biexu* 'her excellency', 'six divisions' and others, are generally accepted. The results of his researches have been collected in Ji Shi 1996.

Toyoda 1992 is a study of the directions and some numerals; Toyoda 1998b is a study of the terms for the four seasons. Chinggeltei 1991 is a study of the twelve zodiac animals, comparing the terms in Kitan with Mongol. Chinggeltei 1998 is a study of the Kitan numerals.

Most of the most recent inscriptions have been published by Liu Fengzhu, either by himself or in co-authored with others. These include comments and partial translations of the text. Each inscription provides more information or evidence about one aspect or another of the Kitan script and lexicon. Aisin Gioro (2004a, 2005b) are collections of articles on many aspects of the language of the inscriptions, including numerals, seasons and comparisons with Mongol and other languages. Her work on Kitan morphology, based on the inscriptions, is particularly valuable.

1.24 Transcription of the small Kitan script

Chinese and Japanese researchers quote words and sentences in Kitan without any transcription. This is not acceptable in a book written in English, so a transcription system must be devised. That proposed here is mainly based on the phonetic values of the graphs as determined by their use in Chinese loanwords, as outlined above and discussed in greater detail below. They are *transcriptions:* each graph is represented by one or more roman letters which probably, but by no means certainly, represent the approximate phonetic values of the Kitan graphs. They are written 为 ‹a›, 关 ‹an› and so on. Graphs which seem to have the same, or perhaps a very similar pronunciation as deduced from the transcription values are indicated by an acute accent: 及 ‹o› 廾 ‹ó›; 炙 ‹u› 伞 ‹ú›. Many graphs, however, are still unexplained. Chinese researchers often refer to 卡, for example, as [ka] because of its graphic similarity to 卡 *ka*. This does not imply any phonetic similarity: it is simply a way of referring to 卡. I have written 卡 as ‹kå›, the unusual diacritic over the vowel being a stylized question mark. It is typographically more convenient to write ‹kå› than ‹ka›(?) or ‹041›, and relates to the original graph 卡 in a way ‹041› does not. Similarly, 可 is ‹kẻ› because of its similarity to Chinese 可. The same annotation is used for graphs for which a particular reading has been proposed, such as 丸 ‹zů›, but

which is not commonly accepted in the literature. This diacritic has some mnemonic value, no more.

1.25 Transcription of logographs

In some cases the meaning of a graph is known, but not its reading. An example is 308, which means ‘compose [the text of an inscription]’. The pronunciation of is unknown. In these cases, the graph is transcribed by its gloss in small capitals: ‹COMPOSE›. I have transcribed logographs by their meaning when it is known. Undeciphered graphs are referred to by their numbers in the standard list in *Research*.

1.26 The dotted forms

Some graphs have an additional dot. There have been many suggested explanations for these: that they indicate some sub-class of numerals or colours, or are used with nouns to whom respect is due (Chen Naixiong 1992). Recently Wu Yingzhe 2005a has proposed the dot indicates grammatical gender. The texts do not contradict that interpretation. The dot is indicated by the symbol ♂, e.g. ‹ONE›, ‹ONE♂›. Some dotted forms are:

026	027	134	135	166	167	029	030
085	086	368	369	007	008	033	034
004	005	285	286	081	082	326	327

1.27 Similar and probably identical graphs

132	133	344	105	061	060	208	209	064
221	222	348	109	011	127	171	214	215
349	112	146	336	370	371	230	231	227
254	110	361	100	072	101	347	107	108
241	242	352	114	068	103	146	153	337
223	224	353	113	262	263	149	147	148
003	031	200	201	362	125	049	354	104
172	173	306	307	117	118	271	272	

1.28 Probably miswritten graphs

301	=300	267	266	=209	208	=275	=276	=277	=278

1.29 Similar but different graphs

仌	‹x›	关	‹i›	厼	‹ér›		
夵	‹oi›	夶		圶			
仒	‹ô›	公					
豕		仄		仄		氺	
雨	‹in›	肉	‹on›				
丹	312	冉	‹ló›	弗‹iaŋ›		朱‹iảŋ›	
共	‹rí›	赤	‹w›	赤‹oŋ›			
用	‹BORN›	冊	310				
火	‹un›	交	‹úr›	女		夂	
大	‹ud›	火	‹ud›	太	‹uŋ›	尖	‹uŋ›
九	‹g›	尼	‹dú›	兆	‹sh›		
刀	‹dỏ›	刃	‹rẻn›	力	‹na›	为	‹qo›
丸	‹mú›	龙	‹śï›	九	193	圶	194
万	200	万	201	劳	‹tu›	先	‹zủ›
反	‹o›	及	‹u›	穴	‹dau›	穴	‹nai›

1.30 Phonograms

The phonograms are of three types: (1) those used only to transcribe Chinese (2) those used only to write Kitan words and (3) those used in both Chinese and Kitan words. On *a priori* grounds, we might suspect that group (1) represents phonemes or syllables in Chinese which Kitan did not have: retroflexes, for example, and initial and final /ŋ/. We can presume that group (2) represents phonemes or syllables which Kitan had but Chinese did not: back consonants, fronted vowels, initial and final /r/. We can also presume that group (3) represents phonemes common to both Kitan and Chinese.

When we analyse the Kitan transcriptions of Chinese, we note that certain Kitan consonants seem to go in pairs (using the transliteration scheme I have adopted):

冉	业	岺	令	又	仕	伏	公
b	p	d	t	m	mu	ń	n

It is by no means clear what phonetic difference there was between 冉 ‹b› and 业 ‹p›, for example, or 岺 ‹d› and 令 ‹t›.The difference between ‹b› and ‹p› in English is that of voiced and voiceless, but in the *pinyin* transcription of modern Chinese the two graphemes distinguish aspirated and unaspirated labial stops. 冉 ‹b› seems to be associated with rounded vowels and 业 ‹p›

with unrounded vowels; 伏 ‹ń› seems to be associated with front vowels and 公 ‹n› with back vowels. Both 仝 and 令 are used as plural suffixes, but only 令 is used after feminine nouns.

Chinese *k* and *g* (using the *pinyin* based romanisation system I am using for Liao Chinese) are transcribed as 叔 ‹k› and 九 ‹g›, which I think must represent Kitan 'front' [k] and [g]. 巫 ‹qa› and 圡 ‹ha› or 列 ‹hu› are generally not used in Chinese words, and represent the 'back' Kitan phonemes which are absent from Chinese. I use ‹h› for [ɣ].

1.31 Graphs only used to write Chinese

兆	廿	丙	万	友	关	去	发	伞	文
sh	ss	ts	tś	tz	tź	w	ŋ	z	ź

気	北	舟	並	冃	火	当	凡	亦	杏	谷
aŋ	áŋ	iaŋ	iáŋ	iŋ	uŋ	úŋ	iúŋ	ün	ï	ï

1.32 Symbols used for the Kitan vowels

为‹a›	爷‹e›	关‹i›	及 ‹o›	永 ‹u›
			井 ‹ó›	全 ‹ú›
			众 ‹ô›	穴 ‹û›

Kitan was exceptionally rich in rounded vowels. I have transcribed them as above, but it is not clear at the moment which graph corresponds to which particular phoneme. One would expect vowels like [ü] and [ö], but it is not clear which graphs might represent these phonemes. Graphs used to transcribe Chinese medials are 交 ‹ie› 炏 ‹y› and 仲 ‹ü›. 谷 ‹i› transcribes the Chinese 'retracted *i*' [ʅ, ɿ]'. 爷‹î› is rare. 仝 ‹êm› is probably [iam] ~ [iæm] ~ [iɛm] and 方 ‹ên› is probably [ian] ~ [iæn] ~ [iɛn]. 各 ‹êŋ› is possibly [iæŋ] ~ [iɛŋ].

1.33 Syllables of the VV type

平	夾	尔	才	丙	圡	丑
ai	au	áu	ia	ei	eu	iû
北	丙	火	太	火	当	号
ii	iu	iú	oi	ui	iau	iáu

1.34 Syllables of the VC type

方al		用il		平ul	
本ar	炎er	仐or	夾úr	化ur	
冬as		忝is		北us	
太ad		币od	火ud		
采an	冇en	雨in	不on	火un	
出án	当én	伏iń	肉ón	爻ún	
	方ên	业 iên	亦ün		
気aŋ	业áŋ	同iŋ	杰oŋ	次uŋ	当úŋ
	将iaŋ	並iáŋ	凡 iúŋ	各êŋ	
乃am	佥êm	雨in	同iŋ		
东 ah			罡oh	夂uh	

1.35 Syllables of the C and CV type

本	c,ci	吊	ca	币	cau	艻	cu	尚	co
쏘	d, de	久	da	尺	dau	们	du	分	dû
令	t, te	仍	ta	乇	tau	为	tu	尼	dú
犳	j,ji	犲	ja	petty	jau	子	ju		
公	n	力	na	穴	neu	伏	ńi		
付	b, bo	业	bi	付	bo	生	bu		
又	m, mo	行	mú	又	m	仕	mu		
中	l, le	矢	lí	叏	lu				
仐	s, se	飞	ś						
列	hu	夶	ha	圠	ho				
几	g, gi	夻	ge	曲	go	勺	gu	力	qo
力	q, qo	圶	qa	口	qi	欠	qó	余	qu
叔	k, ke	丕	ki	几	ku	仉	kú	夫	qú
爫	x, xe	不	xa			夹	xo	兆	xu
父	ŋ	伞	z	戈	ź	兆	sh	廿	ss
友	tz, tzi	亥	dz	岁	dź	丐	ts	万	tś

1.36 Vowel harmony

Vowels fall into two groups: 为 ‹a› 出 ‹án› 丰 ‹ai› 本 ‹ar› 方 ‹al› 廾 ‹ó› often appear in the same words, while 丙 ‹ei› 当 ‹én› 炎 ‹er› 北 ‹ii› 尺 ‹û› appear in other words. Some graphs occur mainly in one group (such as 炎 ‹er›), but occasionally occur in another group. Some graphs, such as 爻 ‹ún› 犳 ‹ji› and 伏 ‹ń› appear in both groups. *Research* listed the following:

Suffixes based on ‹a›

[illegible]
a a.ai ha.ar ha.a.ar
[illegible]
ha.an ha.a.an ha.a.an.én ha.a.an.er
[illegible]
ha.al ha.al.hu ha.al.hu.an ha.al.un ha.a.al
[illegible]
hu hu.er hu.an hu.ad

Suffixes based on ‹e›

[illegible]
ei én er en
[illegible]
ge.ei ge.én ge.er ge.én.er
[illegible]
ii s.ii o.ii ge.ii
[illegible]
g.er g.en gi.de

Suffixes based on ‹o›/‹ó›

[illegible]
o on
[illegible]
ó.o.on ó.o.ii
[illegible]
ó.ui ó.ui.i
[illegible]
ó.úr ó.ji ó.ji.er ó.ji.en
[illegible]
ó.ji ó.ji.er ó.ji.én
[illegible]
al.ji al.ji.er al.ji.er

Suffixes based on ‹û›

[illegible] û.en û.ui û.er [illegible] û.ii û.úr ú.un û.on [illegible] û.ji û.ji.én [illegible] uh.ji uh.ji.én [illegible] u.ji u.ji.en

1.37 Inherent vowels

The consonants listed above seem to represent consonantal phonemes in some words, and syllables in others. There must have been an "inherent vowel" attached to these consonants: for convenience, and partly based on the transcriptions of Chinese, I write ‹o› after labials, ‹e› after dentals and ‹i› after velars, palatals and affricates. So [illegible] is ‹b› in [illegible] ‹b.as› 'again' but ‹bo› in [illegible] ‹tai.bo›, a transcription of Chinese 太保 *taibao*. [illegible] ‹ri.g.en› 'a tribal chief' is transcribed *yilijin* 夷離菫, suggesting [illegible] should here be transcribed ‹ir› or ‹iri›, or that a prothetic vowel was pronounced before [r]. A similar situation arises with [illegible] ‹s.en›, a common name which means 'long life' which is transcribed in Chinese as 義信 Yixin. This also suggests a prothetic vowel. In other cases, graphs seem to have slightly different values, depending on where they are in a word. [illegible] is clearly [ńi] at the beginning of a word, as in [illegible] ‹ńi.qo› 'dog', variously normalised as **noqai*, **nehe*, **noho*, **nyaka* and others. At the end of a syllable, however, it appears to have been read [iń].

Kitan graphs were used to write two quite distinct languages, with different phonological systems. At this stage we cannot see clearly how the Kitans perceived Chinese aspirates. We cannot clearly see how the Chinese perceived such syllables as *qa* or *ɣu*. It is unlikely there was any systematic means of transcription on either side.

A *normalisation* of a transliterated script can be done on the basis of words in the same or a closely cognate language. Runic Turkic is a case in point. It is too early in the study of Kitan to attempt a systematic normalisation, though there may be some possibilities when there is a cognate word in Mongol or a reliable transcription in Chinese. The transcription system presented here still has too many "accented letters" and

doubtful readings. The transcriptions are no more than plausible possibilities, but they are also no less. If we are going to make any progress, we have no choice but to use such a transcription system in order to move on to the study of the texts themselves.

1.38 Possible multiple readings of Kitan graphs

One suggestion sometimes made is that some Kitan graphs might have two readings: one when used as logograph, and another when used as a phonogram. Toyoda 2000, for example, reads [Kitan graph] as ‹ai› when it is used in the transcription of Chinese words, but **awi* when it is the Kitan word for 'father'. Similarly, [Kitan graph] is ‹bu› in Chinese transcriptions, but **ewüge* in the Kitan word [Kitan graph] [Kitan graph] **ebüge awi* 'grandfather'. Aisin Gioro 2004:38 reads ‹ai› for [Kitan graph] in Chinese transcriptions, but **aja* in the Kitan word 'father'. The Kitan word for 'elder brother' is [Kitan graph] ‹ia›, and it is commonly used to transcribe such words as 家 **gia,* written [Kitan graphs] ‹g.ia›. A reading based on Mongol, such as **axa* or **aqa*, is commonly suggested as the Kitan word for 'elder brother'. It is not impossible some such system did not exist, but there is little evidence to support this hypothesis.

Part of the impetus to seek multiple readings comes from a sense of desperation. It is now possible to transcribe words, phrases, paragraphs, even the greater part of whole inscriptions, with a large number of probably more or less accurate readings, based on the transcriptions of Chinese words in the inscriptions. In some cases, these readings are shown to be reasonably accurate, because actual Kitan words emerge, such as [Kitan graphs] ‹mo.ri› 'horse'. In most cases, however, texts in Kitan, using the current transcriptions, cannot be understood on the basis of Mongol. Therefore, goes the argument, the transcriptions must be wrong, or there must be a separate system of transcriptions for Kitan words, as yet undiscovered. At this stage, however, such suggestions lack any evidence.

The above charts suggest that some of the unidentified graphs may fill some of the gaps, if the Kitan script (as used for Kitan) is primarily a syllabary, with some logographs. When used to transcribe Chinese, it was not a syllabary: certain graphs transcribed certain Chinese initials, certain graphs transcribed Chinese finals. It is also possible that the Kitan script indicated vowels sparsely. A script is not necessarily a phonemic transcription: the native speaker knew how to pronounce [Kitan graphs] ‹c c› or [Kitan graphs] ‹s.l.b› from context. More texts, and more intensive investigation of the texts, might make these matters clearer.

CHAPTER TWO

ANALYSIS OF THE KITAN SMALL GRAPHS

> Uighur messengers came to court, but there was no one who could understand their language. The empress said to Taizu, “Tiela is clever. He may be sent to welcome them.” By being in their company for twenty days he was able to learn their spoken language and script. Then he created a script of smaller Kitan characters which, though few in number, covered everything. - *Liaoshi,* quoted in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*, p. 243.

The Kitan small graphs were each allocated a number in *Research*, which has become a standard list, and the numbers a recognised way of referring to them. The expression 該貫 in the above quotation, translated ‘covered everything’, is usually understood by Chinese scholars to mean ‘linked together’, contrasting the graphs of the large script, written individually like Chinese characters, with the small script, in which the graphs are ‘linked together’ to form words. Chinese characters are transcribed in a modified form of *pinyin*, which reflects more closely the underlying form of Chinese transcribed by the Kitan script. This transcription is presented in Chapter Seven.

*

2.001 亍 ‹ABOVE, NORTH›. 亍 及化 ‹NORTH u.ur› 北院 ‘northern administration’. See also 009. Reading unknown. Suggested readings based on Mo. such as *umar-a, xoina, xoi*, or Mo. *aru* ‘back, rear’ lack evidence.

2.002 丅 ‹TWENTY›. Reading unknown. Ji Shi 1986a noted a reference to an early Kitan leader named 晝里昏阿 *zhou-li-hun-a,* who, according to the *Qidanguo zhi*: 惟養羊二十口，日食十九, 留 其一焉，次日復有二十口, 日如之 ‘he kept twenty goats; every day he ate nineteen, only leaving one; the next day again there were twenty, this continued day after day, every day was like this’. Ji Shi suggested that 晝 *zhou* might be a mistake for 畫 *hua,* thus giving the name as 畫里昏阿 *hua-li-hun-a*. This is reminiscent of Mo. *qori* ~ *qorin* ‘twenty’ and *qoni* ~ *qonin* ‘sheep’.

2.003 万 ‹tś›. Probably an allograph of 方 031.

2.004 [Kitan] ‹WHITE›. [Kitan] represents the Chinese cyclical terms 庚 *geng* and 辛 *xin*. Mo. and Ma. use the five colours 藍 *lan* 'blue', 紅 *hong* 'red', 黃 *huang* 'yellow', 白 *bai* 'white' and 黑 *hei* 'black' to correspond to the cyclical terms, but Tibetan and Japanese use the five elements, 水 *shui* 'water' 火 *huo* 'fire' 金 *jin* 'metal' 木 *mu* 'wood' 土 *tu* 'earth'. It is generally accepted that the Kitan terms correspond to the five colours, but those which are written phonetically, such as [Kitan] ‹l.iau.qu› 'red' and [Kitan] ‹s.iau.qu› 'blue' do not resemble the Mo. forms. Ji Shi 1981, 1984, 1986 suggested Kitan may have used the five elements to correspond to the ten stems of Chinese. The graph for white has a dotted version: [Kitan] and [Kitan], which might mean 'white' and 'whitish', the way the two stems 庚 *geng* and 辛 *xin* are distinguished in Mongol and Manchu. Wu Yingzhe 2005a links the dotted forms with grammatical gender. The reading of [Kitan] is unknown. Some scholars suggest forms based on Mo. *čaɣan*.

2.005 [Kitan] Dotted form of 'white'.

2.006 [Kitan] ‹MOUNTAIN› ‹TOMB› ‹MOUNTAIN TOMB›. This graph looks very similar to [Kitan] 2.063, 'eternal'. In some contexts, it appears to mean 'mountain', in others 'tomb'. Perhaps 'tomb cut into a mountain', as the Kitan tombs were.

2.007 [Kitan] ‹EIGHT›. Ji Shi and Chinggeltei suggest *naim* < Mo. *naima*. Many numerals which can be reconstructed, such as *three, four, five, seven, nine* and *hundred* are similar to Mongol. Others, such as *one, two* and *six* are not. There is no evidence from the ordinals for the reading of [Kitan]. Cf. [Kitan] 'eighth, ordinal form of[Kitan]'.

2.008 [Kitan] Dotted form of 'eight'.

2.009 [Kitan] A contraction of [Kitan] 2.001 'above, upper' and the plural ending [Kitan] ‹d›, so 'the upper ones, the superiors'. In Gu 17 [Kitan] corresponds to 正妻 'first wife, senior wife'. In some contexts, it appears to mean 'ancestors', i.e. 'those above' or 'those who gave gone before'. In other contexts [Kitan] [Kitan] seems to mean 'northern administration, the administration in the upper region'.

2.010 [Kitan]

2.011 夹 ‹an›. An allograph is 夹 ‹an› 2.127. Cf. 爻为夹 ‹ś.a.án› 山 *shan* 'mountain'; 半为夹 ‹l.a.an› 蘭 *lan* 'orchid'; 为夹 ‹a.an› 安 *an* 'peace'. It is commonly used as a genitive suffix after stems with the vowel [a].

2.012 夭

2.013 灭

2.014 亜 ‹hur›. In Langjun 雨约 亜伞 corresponds to 都統 'campaign commander'. From other contexts, it seems 亜伞 ‹hur.ú› means 'person in control of'. Cf. 亜伞 丞 ‹hur.ú qa› 'controlling khan'. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 伞岑 亜伞 was a name, written variously 小斛祿, 小胡虜, 小胡魯, all **siauhulu*. 伞岑 is read ‹s.iau›, so 亜伞 may be ‹hur.ú› and so 亜 ‹hur›.

2.015 弱 ‹HUNDRED› [jau]. *Liaoshi* glossary '爪, 百數也' **zhau* means a hundred, a number'. 弱 戋 ‹jau tau› transcribes the Chinese expression 招討 **zhautau* 'bandit suppression commissioner'.

2.016 币 ‹od›. The word for 'fifth' is normally written 令亦及flu ‹t.ad.o.ho›. In some inscriptions, for example Haitangshan, 令亦及flu ‹t.ad.o.ho› is written 令币及flu ‹t.od.o.ho› Aisin Gioro 2004:186. It is used as a plural suffix following stems with the vowel [o].

2.017 雨 ‹sỏ›. The reading of 雨 is not known. 雨仝 ‹sỏ.or› is common in 収佥 雨仝 ‹k.em sỏ.or› 'an imperial edict was issued; in accordance with the imperial edict 奏奉'. Aisin Gioro suggests **so*.

2.018 雨 ‹in›. Only used in transcriptions from Chinese: 关雨 ‹ŋ.in› 'silver' = 銀 **ngin*; 伞雨 ‹z.in› 'enter' = 進 **zin*; 杰雨 ‹c.in› 'official' = 臣 **chien;* 戈雨 ‹ź.in› 'benevolence' = 仁**rin.* It is a genitive suffix following stems with the vowel [i].

2.019 丙 ‹iu›. Often appears in Chinese loan words. 伞丙 ‹s.iu› = 修 **sieu,* 半丙 ‹l.iu› = 留 **lieu;* 九丙火 令文方 ‹g.iu.uŋ d.ie.ên› = **gungdien* 宮殿. By itself it means 'is not, was not' = 'died'.

2.020 丙 ‹ei›. 丙 is commonly used transcribe Chinese initial *y*. As a final, it is probably [ei]: 公丙 ‹d.ei› **dei* 特; 丙圡叐 ‹ei.eu.u› **yeu* 右; 公丙 ~ 令丙 ‹d.ei› ~ ‹t.ei› *dei* 德; 丙文方 忐 ‹ei.ie.ên oŋ› 燕王 **yen ong* 'the prince of Yan' 丙午叐火 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› 'Yelü' 耶律. In Kitan morphology, 丙 is a converb suffix in the series 平ai, 北ii, 夲oi, 丙ei.

2.021 丙 ‹MOTHER, FEMALE›. Transcribed ‹mó›. *Research* interpreted 穴夯丙 as 'empress', based on the entry in the *Liaoshi* glossary: 耨斡麼 neu-e-mo: 麼亦作改; 耨斡, 后土稱; 麼,母稱 (麼 is also written 改). 耨斡 *neu-e* means 'earth', 麼 *mo* means 'mother'. 后土 means 'all producing earth', as in 皇天后土 'all ruling heaven, all producing earth'. Ji Shi proposed that 丙几 means 'wife', so 丙 is more generally 'female person'. 几 ‹ku› is 'man, person'. 丙 令 ‹mó:t› means 'women', with the plural suffix 令 ‹t›. Cf. 丙 舟为 ‹mó bo.qo› 'daughter', 舟为 ‹bo.qo› 'son, child'; 丙 舟列出 ‹mó bo.ha.án› 'daughters'.

2.022 而 ‹cau›. 而 appears in 发雨 伞同 而当 什夂 夂丰 分 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu› 銀青崇祿大夫*ŋin cing chung lu dai fu*; 几又 伞谷 而当 什夂 六丰 分 ‹gi.m z.ï cau.úŋ l.uh dá.ai pu›. 金紫崇祿大夫 *gim zï chung lu dai fu*. 而 also appears in the name 而伏 ‹cau.iń› 嘲隱 *chauyin*, 而交 ‹cau.úr› 'army' = *Liaoshi* glossary 炒伍侕 *chauwur* 'warfare, to fight'.

2.023 丙 ‹iů›. Possibly an allograph of 丙 ‹iu›.

2.024 而 ‹ěr›. Mnemonic from 而.

2.025 西 xǐ. Mnemonic from 西.

2.026 毛 ‹ONE›. Reading unknown. In the emended sections of the Daozong inscription, 伏金令几 ‹mu.em.se.gi› was rewritten 毛令几 ‹毛.se.gi›, suggesting that 毛 was pronounced 伏金 ‹mu.em›. Chinggeltei 1986 noted that 'first' is 又冬余 ‹m.as.qu›, so 'one' might be **mas*. There is, however, little correlation between 'one' and 'first' in many languages, and no real evidence to support the reading of **mas* for 'one'.

2.027 毛 Dotted form of 'one'.

2.028 飞 ‹ś›. Examples: 飞同 ‹ś.iŋ› ~ 飞关同 ‹ś.i.iŋ› ~ 飞发 ‹śi.ŋ› 聖 **shing*; 飞为买 ‹ś.a.an› 山 **shan*; 飞为夫 ‹ś.a.rí›: a Kitan title transcribed 沙里 *sha-li* and translated 郎君 *langjun* 'court attendant'; 飞又关 ‹śi.m.i›: Kitan name written in Chinese 審密 Shenmi; 飞方 ‹ś.ên› 'new'.

2.029 无 ‹FIVE› [tau] 'five'. 无矢为 ‹tau.lí.a› corresponds to 卯 *mao* in the twelve branches, and the zodiac animal 'hare, rabbit'. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 討 **tau*, 'five'; 陶里 **tauli* 'hare'. On the basis of this, 无 is read ‹tau› and 矢 ‹lí›, giving ‹tau.lí.a› for 'hare'. Cf. 弱 无 ‹jau tau›, a transcription of *zhaotao* 'bandit suppression commissioner'.

2.030 戈. Dotted form of ‘five’.

2.031 丙 ‹ts›. 丙关 九亦火 ‹ts.i g.úr:un› ‘belonging to the state of Qi’. 丙关 又火 九亦 ‹ts.i ś.ui g.ün› ~ 伞关 又火 九亦 ‹z.i ś.ui g.ün› 齊水郡 *cishueigün ‘Qishui prefecture’. Used in a narrow transcription of the Chinese initial [ts].

2.032 天 ‹tẻn›. Mnemonic from 天.

2.033 禾 ‹NINE› [is]. 禾 is part of the word 本关禾公舟伏 ‹c.is.de.bo.ń› ‘filial piety’, so 禾 is probably [is] or perhaps [isu], cf. Mo. *yisü* ~ *yisün* ‘nine’. Liu Fengzhu 1983b noticed that 个禾伏 ‹pu.is.iń› is the Kitan transcription of 夫人 *IXåIQ*‘lady’. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 禾九叉 ‹is.g.ún› is the Kitan word transcribed in Chinese as 乙室菫 *yishïgin*. Note the Chinese transcription of the Kitan clan name 禾九关 ‹is.g.i› 乙室已; *yi-shi-ji *išigi,* which strongly suggests *is (or iš) for 禾. It also occurs in 本禾 ‹ci.is› ‘blood relation’, cf, Mo. *cisu* ‘blood’.

2.034 禾 Dotted form of ‘nine’.

2.035 丕 Reading unknown. Aisin Gioro 2004:177 suggests 丕 might mean ‘the next [son, daughter etc.]’. In Xu 51, the eldest child is referred to as 父冬夫 ‹m.as.qú› ‘first’, but the youngest is not 兮夫 ‹YOUNG.qú› ‘young’, as usual, but 夵 108. 丕 035 might be an allograph of 夵 108.

2.036 北 ‹xu›. *Research* explained 业用 北 火 又气 又米 九亦 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ ś.iaŋ g.ün› as 龍虎衛上將軍 **lunghu wei shang gianggün* ‘senior general of the dragon and tiger guards’. Cf. 北穴 九亦 ‹xu.û g.ün› 護軍 *hu gün* ‘military protector’; 北穴 舟穴 ‹xu.û b.û› 戶部 **hubu* ‘ministry of revenue’.

2.037 王 ‹di›. In 主王 皇帝 **hongdi* ‘emperor’.

2.038 乇

2.039 开 ‹kåi›. Mnemonic from 开.

2.040 十 ‹WEST›. Reading unknown. Suggestions include *ör, hörene* or *uru*. There is no evidence for any of these readings, except similarity to Mongol. 亠 十 弱 戈 廿 as ‘‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss› ‘the bureau of punishments 招討司 *zhaotaosi* of the north west’. Wang Hongli 1986, Toyoda 1991, 1992. The ‘western capital’ is 伞关 九同 ‹s.i g.iŋ› < 西京 **si ging*. However, 亠 十

亙化 ‹[NORTH ~ UPPER] [SOUTH/LOWER] u.ur› is presumably the common expression ‘the northern and southern administrations’, so it is not clear if 十 means ‘west’ or ‘south’. Perhaps the directions were expressed by such terms as forward, backward, upper, lower and so on. The terms for the directions in Jurchen are also isolates, and may shed some light on the directions in Kitan. The Jurchen terms are *juleši, fulisi, fanti* and *uliti.* Kiyose 1977, 590-594, of which the final *ši* and *ti* may be (ablative?) suffixes.

2.041 卡 Reading unknown. On the canopy of the Prince of Xu inscription, 岑亙 叉圡卡 丕为出 ‹292.u ś.eu.kả on.a.án› corresponds to 甘露降 ‘sweet dew descended’. 叉圡卡 ‹ś.eu.kả› must mean ‘dew’. On the basis of Mo. *sigüder ~ sigüderi* ‘dew’, *Research* suggested ‹der› for卡 .

2.042 亡

2.043 亡

2.044 乇

2.045 支

2.046 市

2.047 市 ‹hor›. Ji Shi noticed that in 舟力 市舟伏 㐅圡 仐丰 羔 ‹bo.qo hor.bo.ń x.eu s.ai poŋ›, 舟力 ‹bo.qo› is ‘son’ and 仐丰 羔 ‹s.ai poŋ› is 採訪 *caifang* ‘investigation commissioner’. So 市舟伏 ‹hor.bo.ń› must be a name, probably 曷魯本 *Holubun*, which is common in the *Liaoshi.* Liu Fengzhu noticed that in the Yelü Dilie inscription, 㐅圡 ‹x.eu› is a transcription of 耶律吼 Yelü Hou. His son was called 市舟 ‹hor.bo›. This name is transcribed in the Chinese text as 何魯不 **holubu*. Aisin Gioro suggests 市 ~ 市亙 ‹hor› ~ ‹hor.u› means ‘people 民’.

2.048 丰 ‹nẻn›. Mnemonic from 年 .

2.049 市 Research noted that 大同郡 *datongjun *datunggün* is written 令市 労尖 九亦 ‹t.039 tu.uŋ g.ün›, so 市 is probably an allograph of 丰 ‹ai›.

2.050 夷 ‹lỉ›. Mnemonic from 吏 .

2.051 圡 ‹ha›. 圡 appears in 亟圡来 ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan, khaghan'. The animal corresponding to 寅 *yin* in the heavenly branches is 'tiger', in Kitan 亟圡冬 ‹qa.ha.as›. This may be related to the Chinese term 獸王 *shouwang* 'king of the beasts, tiger'.

2.052 圡 ‹RECORD›. 圡 is only found in the word 圡九 ‹RECORD.gi› 'record', with various suffixes. 圡九及犸 ‹RECORD.g.u.ji› is perhaps a *nomen actoris*: 'the person who recorded, the recorder'. 圡九 ‹RECORD.gi› is commonly seen in the expression 圡九半九 月伞 ‹RECORD.gi.le.gi TEXT.ú› 誌銘 'epitaph, tomb inscription' and 圡九当 令勺 ‹RECORD.g.én te.gu› 'the inscription says' (誌曰).

2.053 亟 ‹qa›. 亟 appears in the word for *khan/khaghan* 亟圡来 ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan'. Cf. 亟来 九才 公及 ‹qa.an g.ia n.u› 韓家奴 Han Jianu, a personal name. 韓家奴 is also transcribed 圡来 九才 伏及 ‹qa.an g.ia ni.u›. This suggests that *q* 'back k' and *h* 'back g' were fricatives.

2.054 木 ‹mů›. Mnemonic from 木 .

2.055 杢

2.056 杢

2.057 夹 ‹xo›. The Kitan title of the Taishuzu inscription 義和仁壽皇太叔哀冊文 is: 又及 百车及火关 令夲长 火关 夹 文雨 又圡及 主 丕 又玥 伞伞交 九村叉 杰朱 (杰火) ‹m.o ei.ra.u.ud te.ge.er ŋ.i hó ź.in ś.eu.u hoŋ tai ś.iú z.ú.úr g.en:ún c.ah (w.un)› 'Eulogy for the Late Great Yelü Yi He Ren Shou Huangtaishuzu'. 夹 corresponds to 和. One would expect 和 MC **hua* to have shifted to **xuo* or **xo* in Liao Chinese. 令夲长 ‹te.ge.er› means 'deceased'.

2.058 朻 ‹mi̊›

2.059 杏 ‹uni›. 杏 corresponds to the cyclical term 丑 *chou* and the zodiac animal 'ox'. Toyoda 1991, 1992 suggested that 圣 尺朻 伞杏 労 交 屮 ‹TWO DAY:en s.uni tu.úr.bun› means 'he died on the night of the second day'. Liu Zhou Zhao and Zhu 1995 agreed with Toyoda, giving the examples 伞杏朻 非朱 ‹s.uni po:do› 'at night time' and 口 伞杏 ‹qi s.uni› 'that night'. Cf. Mo. **söni* 'night'. 杏 ‹uni› is the Kitan word for 'ox', cf. Mo. *üniye* 'cow'.

2.060 寸. Allograph of 061.

2.061 可 ‹kẻ›. Mnemonic from 可. 可公圡屮 ‹kẻ.d.ha.ai› 殯 'to be placed in a coffin, to be buried'; 可公炏 ‹kẻ.d:er› 'buried'.

2.062 垬 ‹iáŋ›. 垬 often appears in transcriptions from Chinese: 九又 쏘夊 炏 又気 仐垬 ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui s.iáŋ g.ün› 金吾衛上將軍 *jinwu wei jiangjun *gim ŋu wei zianggün* 'general of the imperial insignia guard'.

2.063 汞 ‹ETERNAL›. This graph corresponds to Chinese 永 'eternal' and is probably derived from it. It appears in the Daozong and Xuanyi inscriptions in the Kitan terms for 永福陵 Yongfuling, the name of the tomb in which they were buried. It also appears on the back of a bronze mirror known as the 寶坻鏡 *Baodijing*: 仐有 汞 夊 令炏 ‹s.en ETERNAL u t.oi›, of which the first word is 壽 'long life'. There is also a coin from the Changshou 長壽 period with a similar inscription: 仐有 汞 夊 夯. The Daozong inscription contains the phrase 关 仍 穴夯 汞, interpreted as 'heaven long [time] earth eternal' = 'heaven and earth are eternal'.

2.064 皮 ‹lu›. Allograph of 叏 ‹lu›. Wu Yingzhe 2005a notes that 叏 with a dot is probably a mistranscription.

2.065 夾 Perhaps an allograph of 夬 116.

2.066 土 ‹tủ›. Mnemonic from 土.

2.067 去 ‹eu›. 又去 ‹ś.eu› 守 **sheu;* 朩去 ‹c.eu› 州 **zheu* 'prefecture', 小去 ‹l.eu› 婁 **leu* 'a surname'. 去 is more likely [əu] than [ou] because it is followed by the genitive 有 ‹en› rather than 不 ‹on›. It is also common in Kitan words: 去平 ‹eu.ul› 'cloud', cf. Mo. *egüle ~ egülen*; 去夾 ‹eu.úr› 'years of age 歲'.

2.068 北 ‹us›. 北 appears in the expressions 九火 朩雨 北九公 乇 ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR› 四字功臣 'four character meritorious official' and similar expressions. 北九 ‹us.gi› must mean 'characters, graphs, writing'; the proposed reading of ‹us.gi› is based on Mongol *üsüg* '*id.*' Ji Shi 1990 suggested 北九 亜仐 ‹us.gi hur.ú› 'controller of writing' refers to the Hanlin academy. 北九 亜火火 火 圧关 ‹us.gi hur.iú:un ui KNOW.i› corresponds to 総知翰林院事 'official in general control of the matters of the Hanlin academy'. 北 103 is an allograph of 北 068.

2.069 夫 ‹rí›. 夫 appears in the word 又为夫 ‹ś.a.rí› in the Langjun inscription. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 沙 里, 郎君也 '*sha-li* means *langjun* [court

attendant]'. 夫 should be ‹rí› rather than *li as it does not appear in Chinese words.

2.070 赤 ‹w›. 赤 appears in Chinese words such as 赤火 ‹wu.un› 文 *wun, 赤叉 ~ 赤久 ‹w.u ~ w.uh› 武 *wu, 木乐 赤火 ‹c.ah w.un› 冊文 *chaiwun 'text of inscription'. 赤 is more likely to be [w] rather than [v] or [ʋ]. There is no evidence for [v] in either Kitan or Chinese at the time.

2.071 杰 ‹oŋ›. *Research* suggested *uaŋ for 杰, but its genitive suffix is 不 ‹on›, not 来 ‹an›, suggesting the main vowel is [o], not [ua].

2.072 丙 . Allograph of 丙 101. ‹EAST›. 一 丙 伏仌圠冇 午冇 仐各火 ‹NORTH EAST ni.ó.ho:en ů:en s.êŋ.un› '*xiangwen* of the of the north east route' = 東北路詳穩 (Zong 13). 伏仌圠 ‹ńi.ó.ho› is a form of the word for 'division, tribal division, route, circuit'.

2.073 方 ‹ên›. 亚方 ‹ki.ên› 乾 *kien, 亚方 ‹ki.ên› 縣 *hien 'county'; 仐文方 ‹s.ie.ên› 仙 *sien 'immortal'. In Chinese the vowel was probably fronted by the medial -i-, so [iɛn].

2.074 卉 ‹tir›. 卉为 ‹tir.a› or 卉关 ‹tir.i›, a Kitan name written in Chinese 帖刺 *Tiela* (Ji Shi 1996) or 鐵離 *Tieli* (Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995). Cf. 卉为 化九伏 ‹tir.a ri.g.iń› 帖刺夷離菫 'the tribal chief (*yilijin*) Tiela'. Also: 卉屮 ‹tir.bun› a Kitan name written in Chinese 迪里鉢 Dilibo. (Zhao and Bao 2001).

2.075 主 ‹hoŋ›. 主 mainly appears in 主王 ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor' from Chinese 皇帝 *hongdi*, and characters such as 黃. Note 主 王雨 ‹hoŋ di:in› 'of the emperor'; 主 王冇 ‹hoŋ di:en› 'of the emperor', with different genitive suffixes冇 ‹en› and 雨 ‹in›.

2.076 圠 ‹ho›. 圠 appears in 山 列圠 ‹GOLD♂ hu.ho› 'gold crow', as *Research* pointed out. Liu Fengzhu 1983b suggested the reading *haha ~ *hehe for 列圠, noting the Jurchen word *gaha*, Ki. 157 'crow'. Ji Shi 1982a suggested 圠 be read *gə*. As a verbal ending, it follows stems with the vowel [o]. Note 圠仐将伏 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› 'first day(s) of the lunar month 朔' and 圠仐将伏 木夵圠 ‹ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho›, a formula at the end of the title of inscriptions 'together with preface 並序'. 木夵圠 ‹ci.ge.ho› may be related to 木 ‹ci› 'write'. The semantic field of 圠仐将伏 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› is 'first, in front of'. The name 圠仐将伏 ‹ho.le.bo.ń› probably means 'the first [son, child]'.

2.077 [Khitan]

2.078 [Khitan]

2.079 [Khitan]

2.080 [Khitan] ‹ii›. [Khitan] looks similar to [Khitan] ‹ho› 076, but the horizontal stroke is extended through the downstroke. Chinggeltei 1992 discovered that [Khitan] is a suffix, similar in use to [Khitan] ‹ai› and [Khitan] ‹ei›. For example, [Khitan phrase] ‹THREE YEAR:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii, ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ, qa.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju:bun› 'in the third year [of the Tianjuan period], by special advancement, having been granted the title of *shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞, he was promoted to the position of duke of the state of Han'. The suffix [Khitan] ‹bun› is one of a series indicating the past tense, used at the end of sentences. [Khitan] ‹ii› is one of a series of converb suffixes used in subordinate clauses.

2.081 [Khitan] ‹MONTH›. The Chinese texts give **sayir* ~ **sar* as the Kitan word for 'moon', 'month': 武珪 Wu Gui, 燕北雜記 *Yanbei zaji* [Miscellaneous notes on Yanbei]: 七月十三日至十五日 迎節, 送節, 哭節, 遼人呼為賽離捨 'on the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*'. He adds '賽離 *saili* means 'moon, month'; 捨 *she* means 'good'. The *Liaoshi* writes the same word 賽咿兒 *saiyier:* 五月重五日 … 國語謂是日討賽咿兒. 討,五; 賽咿兒; 月也: "the fifth day of the *chongwu* festival … in their language they call this day 討賽咿兒 *tao saiyier.* 討 *tao* means 'five', 賽咿兒 *saiyier* means 'month'." [Khitan] is common within a word, but it is possible a mistranscription for [Khitan]. Note the graph [Khitan], which was not distinguished from [Khitan] in *Research*, and is not clearly distinguished in many copies of the inscriptions. [Khitan] apparently means 'tent' in the sense of 'lineage, house, household'. Its reading, and its relationship with [Khitan], if any, is not known. Cf. 2.379.

2.082 [Khitan] ‹y›: used to transcribe Chinese medial -ü-. [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó› 'Empress Xuanyi 宣懿皇后'. [Khitan] ‹y.e› transcribes 越 *yue* and similar syllables. See also ‹û› [Khitan] 2.226.

2.083 [Khitan] ‹ss›. Transcribes Chinese characters such as 司 **sï* and 刺 **cï,* clearly indicating the vowel in such words was [ï] rather than [i], and that Kitan had no affricate [tsh]. [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› 守司空 **sheusïkung*

'minister of works'; 叔丰 兮 发关 劣太 今为乃 廿 ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› 開府義同三司 **kaifu ngitung samcï* 'commander unequalled in honour'; 廿 兆 ‹ss sh› 刺史 **cïshï* 'regional chief'.

2.084 车 ‹ra›. 丙车劝火 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› was the Kitan form of 耶律 Yelü. 丙车劝火 九劝久 ‹ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh› is 耶律固 Yelü Gu, the author of the Daozong, Xuanyi and other epitaphs. Cf. Su He 1979; 1981. This graph seems to be associated with graphs with the vowel [a].

2.085 灰 ‹SIX›. Reading unknown. Cf. Jurchen **nilhun* Ki. 651; Ma. *niolhon* 'the sixteenth day of the first month', so perhaps **nil/nir.* The word for 'sixth' is found in the inscriptions, but it is written 灰公, and does not indicate the reading of 灰.

2.086 炭 Dotted form of 灰.

2.087 及 ‹tz›. Only used in Chinese words; transcribes the retroflex affricate [tʂ]. 及 ‹tz› 職 **zhï*, 及同 ‹tz.iŋ› 政 **zhing,* 及 羔 小气 子太 ‹tz paŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› 職方郎中 **zhïfang langzhung* 'director of the bureau of operations'.

2.088 方

2.089 丸 ‹zů›. 丸 appears in the reign title 丸玄当 ‹zů.ge.én› 'Tianfu'. Aisin Gioro 2004:51 notes that the title for a lady of high rank, 別胥 *biexu,* was normally written 将犮伞火 ‹b.y.z.iú› ~ 业犮伞火 ‹p.y.z.iú›, but in Gu it is written 业犮丸火 ‹p.y.zů.iú›, suggesting that 丸 is similar to 伞 ‹z›. 丸 is only found in Kitan words. In the rhymed sections of the Xingzong inscription, 丸 rhymes with 劝 ‹u›.

2.090 廾 ‹ó›. In *Research*, the vowels were divided into four types: the [a] group; the [e] group; the [ó] group and the [û] group. Cf. 1.24. 廾 [ó] is mainly used in Kitan words. It can exchange with 劝 ‹u›, 只 ‹û›, 刃 ‹iû›, and 仌 ‹ô›, none of which appear in syllable initial position. 廾 ‹ó› and 伞 ‹ú› can appear in initial position.

2.091 巧

2.092 九 ‹yů›. 九夾 丰 ‹yů.úr ai› 'the first year [of a reign period] 元年'. The reading ‹yů› is common, based on the presumption that 九夾 is a transcription of 元 *yuan*, but this seems unlikely. Mnemonic from 尤.

2.093 犮 ‹gė›. *Research* identified 尖犮 九同 艹丙 ヌ土 ‹de.gė g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu› as 燕京留守 **Yenging liushieu* 'the viceroy of Yanjing' so 尖犮 = 燕 'swallow', the name of the ancient state around modern Beijing, the southern capital of the Liao. Ji Shi pointed out that 尖犮 is also written 令犮 and suggested it means 'down, under, lower, below'. So 尖犮 九同 ‹de.gė g.iŋ› is the lower capital, Yanjing, as opposed to the upper capital Shangjing. Chinggeltei thinks that 尖犮 should be translated 'south', but there are no words for 'south' like 尖犮 ‹de.gė› in other Altaic languages.

2.094 犮

2.095 女

2.096 交

2.097 爽 ‹úr›. The name 控骨里**kungguli* is transcribed 几水爽 ‹ku.uŋ.úr› in Zongjiao. Toyoda 1998: 矢 介爽 公乃爽 ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› 'thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋'. 介爽 ‹heu.úr› and 公乃爽 ‹n.am.úr› are clearly related to Mo. *qabur* 'spring' and *namur* 'autumn'.

2.098 亐 ‹al›. Cf the following verbal endings:

小圡亐列	‹siȯ.ha.al.hu›	令夲艹九	‹te.ge.le.gi›
可尖圡亐列	‹kė.d.ha.al.hu›	九夲艹九	‹zů.ge.le.gi›
尺平圡亐列	‹dau.ul.ha.al.hu›	令夲艹夲艹九	‹te.ge.le.ge.le.gi›
艹圡亐列天	‹le.ha.al.hu:an›	金伞夲艹九れ	‹me.se.ge.le.g:en›

In these examples from Chinggeltei 1992, 圡 ‹ha› corresponds to 夲 ‹ge›; 列 ‹hu› corresponds to 九 ‹gi›; 天 ‹an› corresponds to れ ‹en› and 亐 ‹al› corresponds to 艹 ‹l› [el~le]. We can also see that 亐 generally appears after 圡 ‹ha›; it also appears in front of 列 ‹hu›. Cf. the Mo. causative suffixes *alɣa* and *elge*.

2.099 亣 ‹ad›. In 公亣生亣 ‹n.ad.bu.ad›, the Kitan word for 捺鉢 *nabo*, also written 納鉢, 納撥, 納跋, 剌鉢, 納寶. (Wang Hongli 1990). Chinggeltei suggests *nabo* is related to Mo. *negü-* 'to nomadise' and *baɣu-* 'to settle down, to encamp'. Cf. Toyoda 1998: 介爽 公亣夕 ‹heu.úr n.ad.bú› = 春捺鉢 'spring *nabo*'. 公亣夕 ‹n.ad.bú› may be a plural form.

2.100 与 ‹én›. Allograph of 当‹én›.

2.101 ‹YOUNGER BROTHER› [deu]. In the Langjun inscription we read ‹qa.ha:an deu› which corresponds to 皇弟 ‘younger brother of the emperor’. A number of combinations with ‹deu› are found: ‹deu ai› ‘uncle; younger brother of ones father 叔’; ‹deu ia› ‘younger brother(s) and elder brother(s) 弟兄’. is also used in ‹deu.úr› ‘with, together with’: ‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci› ‘after he drank wine with the local officials’ (Langjun 4). It also seems to be used to translate 同 ‘together’ in 同知 ‘associate administrator’: ‹ś.iú m.i ű.n deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii› ‘having been appointed to the position of associate administrator in the bureau of military affairs’ (Di 20). The graph KNOW 142 corresponds to 知 ‘know’ i.e. ‘to be in charge of’. 072 is perhaps an allograph of 101.

2.102 ‹cu›. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 point out that in Zongjiao, is a name transcribed in Chinese as 崇古德 Chonggude *chunggudei*. This suggests must ‹cu›. However, ‹cu.n› also transcribes 院 *yuan*, so *Research* suggested **ue* for . The matter remains unresolved. Perhaps two similar but separate graphs are involved.

2.103 Allograph of 068 above.

2.104 ‹dz›. ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› **gungzhiu* ‘princess’; also written ‹g.uŋ c.iú›, suggesting ‹dz› and ‹c› must have been pronounced similarly. ‹dź› 354 is perhaps a variety of ‹dz› 104. Also in ‹dz.ur.er› ‘second [in a series]; ‹dzi.g.en› ‘right [side], perhaps ‘east’. These words are also found with instead of . Cf. 087 ‹tz› 104 ‹dz› 354 ‹dź› .

2.105 ‹ud›. *Research* considered ‹ud› an allograph of ‹uŋ›. Gao Lujia 1988b recognised ‹ei.ra.u.ud› as Yelü, and suggested the original form was **yila’ut.* Liu Fengzhu 1984a interpreted ‹ud.ur g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu› as 東京留守 ‘the *liushou* [regent] of the eastern capital’. has a variant form ‹ud.ur.iń›. Ji Shi thinks that should be read **doru*. Toyoda 1992 suggested **dorona,* based on Mongol.

2.106 ‹uŋ›. An allograph of ‹uŋ›. ‹g.uŋ› 公 **gung* ‘duke’ but ‹g.iu.uŋ› 宮 **giung* ‘palace’; ‹x. uŋ› 空 **kung* ‘empty’.

2.107 ‹oi›. This graph appears in 元帥府 *yuanshuaifu* ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.oi pu› ‘headquarters of a marshal’. The reading of 帥 in Liao Chinese is uncertain, but is different from ‹ui› or ‹ai›. It is used as a

converb suffix, in the series *ai, ei, ii, ui,* so ‹oi› seems reasonable. 夲 has an allograph 苿 347.

2.108 夵 Perhaps an allograph of 忝 035.

2.109 夯 ‹e› 夯 is found in the word 冈夯 ‹û e› 于越 *yuyue* 'a tribal title, the highest position of honour' and 炏夯 凡火 杰 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ› 越國王 'prince of the state of Yue'. 夯 is an allograph of 夯 2.348.

2.110 杢

2.111 夳

2.112 夳 ‹ge›. See the comments under 2.090. *Research* divided the vowels of the suffixes into four groups. See 1.35. 圡 ‹ha› represented the [a] group and 夳 ‹ge› represented the [e] group. Since we know that 圡 is ‹ha›, 夳 must be ‹ge›.

2.113 杏 ‹ï›. Used in Chinese words after 仐 ‹s› and 伞 ‹z›, and optionally after 兆 ‹sh› and 廾 ‹ss›, to denote the retracted ‹ï› vowel: 兆杏 ‹sh.ï› 侍 **shï* 'to wait on'; 兆杏 ‹sh.ï› 事 **shï* 'matter', 仐杏 ‹s.ï› 子 **zï* 'son', 凡火 伞谷 伞关 伞丙 ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› 國子祭酒 **gueizï zizieu* 'chancellor of the national university'. 谷 353 is an allograph.

2.114 夰 ‹î› occurs in 騎 **gi* with apparently the value [i:]. See 2.352.

2.115 达 ‹då›. Mnemonic from 达. This seems to be a sort of numeral; perhaps 'two, a couple' or 'some, several'.

2.116 夹 Perhaps an allograph of 夾 065.

2.117 丈 Perhaps an allograph of 夫118.

2.118 夫 ‹qú›. Cf. 余 ‹qu› 246. 仐岑余 ‹s.iau.qu› and 仐岑夫 ‹s.iau.qú› are both used to spell 甲 *jiǎ* 乙 *yǐ*, corresponding to 'blue'; 夂冬余 ‹m.as.qu› and 夂冬夫 ‹m.as.qú› both mean 'first'. The two endings *may* indicate the grammatical gender of the modified noun. *Research* suggested *ai* for 余 as 朩余 transcribes 冊 **chai* in 冊文 **chaiwun.* In this case 余 may be a misreading of 糸. 糸 is also used in 冊 MC *chreak* and 伯 MC *paek,* both of which ended in [k]. Wang Hongli 86 suggests 朩余 and 舟余 are read *čeɣ* and *beɣ.* 糸 is transcribed in this book as ‹ah›.

2.119 风 ‹dau›. 风 appears in the sequence 风及 今当 主 王 ‹dau.u s.úŋ hoŋ di› 道宗 皇帝 ‘Emperor Daozong’. This graph also appears on the canopy of the epitaph of Daozong, the first two words of which are 又 风亦叉. The first graph means ‘great’; there is a general consensus that 风亦叉 ‹dau.úr.ún› means ‘middle, central’. In Langjun, we find this word in the sequence 风亦叉 及平 ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› corresponding to 仲冬 ‘mid-winter’.

2.120 大 Possibly an allograph of 未 ‹iåŋ› 2.315.

2.121 求 This graph appears in the handcopy of the Renyi inscription, where 飞求 corresponds to 軍 *gün*, normally written 九亦. Presumably a mistranscription. Cf. 求 063.

2.122 丰 ‹ai› 叔丰 ~ 乂丰 ‹k.ai› ~ ‹x.ai› 開 **kai* ‘open’, 六丰 ‹dá.ai› ~ 公丰关 ‹d.ai.i› ~ 令丰关 ‹t.ai.i› 大 **dai* ‘big, great’. 丰 ‹ai› means ‘year’ and also ‘father’. The plural of ‘father’ (men, males) is 丰公 ‹ai:d›, but the plural of ‘years’ is 丰令 ‹ai:se›. 牌 **pai* is written both 业丰 ‹p.ai› and 业乐 ‹p.ah›.

2.123 未 ‹ár›. Liu Fengzhu 1987a suggested 杰未 ‹c.ar› in the Langjun inscription corresponded to 向 *xiang* ‘all along, in the past’, and suggested 杰未 be read **cala* cf. Ma. *cala*. Chinggeltei 1992 discovered that the grammatical function of 未 and 公 may be the same, a perfective suffix. Aisin Gioro suggests 未 *ar* and 公 *er*. In a new article (unpublished) Chinggeltei has given more evidence for reading 未 ‹ar› and 公 ‹er›.

2.124 夬

2.125 号 ‹iáu›. Possibly an allograph of 号 ‹iau›. Ji Shi interpreted 为买 杰号火 廿 兆 ‹a.án c.iáu.un ss sh› as 安州之刺史 ‘prefect of Anzhou’ (Xu 49). 州 *zhou* is normally written 杰去 ‹c.eu›, so if this identification is correct we have 杰号 ‹c.iáu› ~ 杰去 ‹c.eu›. The stem 业号 ‹p.iáu-›, which seems to mean ‘die’, is only found spelled with 号, never with 号, so 号 and 号 might be two separate graphs, not allographs.

2.126 廾

2.127 买 ‹an›. Allograph of 买 ‹an› 011. Cf. 尘买 尘同 九亦 ‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün› (Zhong) ~ 尘买 尘同 九亦 ‹l.an l.iŋ g.ün› (Xu) ‘Lanlingjun (Lanling prefecture)蘭陵郡’.

2.128 圣 ‹zåi›. Mnemonic from 在.

2.129 夭

2.130 不 ‹xa›. 不 occurs in 夯犬 子犬 叉火 叉村 不 业同 犭気 兆 ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa ja.aŋ sh› 同中書門下平章事 **tungzhungshiu munhia pingzhangshï* ‘joint manager of affairs with the secretariat-chancellery’ and 不才 九夾 ‹xa.ia g.úr› ‘name of a state: Xixia 西夏’ (Toyoda 1989).

2.131 叐 ‹u›. 叐 is one of the several graphs which transcribe Chinese [u]: 尖叐 ‹ŋ.u› ‘I’ 吾 **ŋu*, 令叐 ‹pu.u› 副 **fu* ‘deputy’, 杰叐 ‹w.u› 武 **wu* ‘martial, military’. 叐 ‹u› may have been similar to 及 ‹o›: 业及子 ‹p.o.ju› ~ 业叐子 ‹p.u.ju› are the stem forms of ‘become, be appointed to, be promoted to’; 业及子业 ‹p.o.ju.ha› ~ 业叐子业 ‹p.u.ju.ha› the stem forms of the causative of the above: ‘to set up, appoint, establish’.

2.132 又 Possibly an allograph of 叉133.

2.133 叉 ‹m›. 叉 occurs both in Chinese and Kitan: 叉关 ‹m.i› 密 **mi* ‘secret’ 叉为 ‹m.a› 馬 **ma* ‘horse’, 九叉 ‹gi.m› ‘gold’ 金 **gim.* Kitan words: 叉化 ‹mo.ri› ‘horse’, 叉冬余 ‹m.as.qu› ‘first’, 叉及 ‹m.o› ‘big, great’ 叉叉关 ‹śi.m.i› ‘Shenmi: name of a tribe 審密’; 叉及 仕叐犳 ‹m.o mu.u.ji› ‘Kitan term corresponding to Chinese ‘sacred, holy 神聖’. 叉出叉 全仕关 ‹m.án.ún se.m.i› ‘to go hunting’ (Langjun), 叉出叉 几 ‹m.án.ún ku› ‘hunter’; 叉及 舟力 ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘eldest child, eldest son 長子’; 叉仌夫 ‹m.ó.qu› ‘first [son], eldest [son] 長子’.

2.134 圣 ‹TWO›. The stem of the word for ‘second’ in the inscriptions is 杰化 ‹c.ur›. Cf. MMo. *jir ~jur* ‘two’, Ma. *juwe* ‘two’; *juru* ‘a pair’. 圣 also occurs within a word, where it is presumably used phonetically ‹jůr›.

2.135 坙 ‹TWO♂›. Dotted form of 圣: 坙业业东 ‹TWO qa.ha:ad› ‘two khans’.

2.136 刀 ‹dỏ›. Mnemonic from 刀 .

2.137 刃 ‹rẻn› 刃 appears in the Renxian inscription, in 令丙刃伏 杰 ‹t.iu.rẻn.iń oŋ› ‘the prince t.iu.rẻn.iń’. Ji Shi noted that 糺鄰 Jiulin was the Kitan name of 仁先 Renxian, according to his *Liaoshi* biography. 令丙刃 ‹t.iu.rẻn› is also in the reign titles 大康 Dakang ‘Great Prosperity’ and 天德 Tiande ‘Heavenly Virtue’, so 令丙刃 ‹t.iu.rẻn› should be some auspicious word like ‘prosperity, health, virtue’. One of the more puzzling aspects of this graph is that it also appears in the Kitan transcription of the Chinese word 樞密 **shiumi*, written both 叉火 叉关 ‹ś.iú m.i› and 叉火 叉刃 ‹ś.iú mo.rẻn›. 密 was

MC **mit,* so presumably had a final *r* in Late Tang NW Chinese. Perhaps this is an early loanword borrowed in pre-Liao times.

2.138 玥 ‹iû›. The title of the Taishuzu inscription is 万车及火关 令苓尜 叏关 夹 文雨 叉土及 主 圣 叉玥 伞仐火 几木叉 木乐 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i t.e.er ŋ.i xo ź.in ś.eu.u oŋ tai ś.iû z.ú.un g.en.ún c.ah›, corresponding to 義和仁壽皇太叔祖哀冊文 **ŋLKR åIQVKIHX KRQJ WDLVKIX]X DIFKDIZXQ.* 叉玥 must be 叔 and 玥 ‹iû› similar to 火 ‹iú›. 叔 is written both 叉玥 ‹ś.iû› and 叉土玥 ‹ś.eu.iû›. The Kitan word for ‘tribe, division 部’ has the following forms: 公玥交 ‹n.iû.úr› ~ 公廾交 ‹n.ó.úr› ~ 伏廾交 ‹ńi.ó.úr› ~ 伏仌交 ‹ńi.ô.úr›. 叔 was *syuk* in MC, and the use of 玥 in this word might reflect a final *k*.

2.139 力 ‹na›. This occurs in 力圡出尜 ‹na.ha.án.er› ‘maternal uncle’, which Ji Shi 82 related to Mo. *naγaču* ‘relatives on mother’s side’. 力乃 ‹na.am› transcribes 男 *nan *nam* ‘male, man, rank of nobility, baron’.

2.140 木 ‹en›. Usually used as a genitive suffix. There are six graphs which are used to indicate the genitive preceded by various vowels: 木 ‹en›, 关 ‹an›, 不 ‹on›, 火 ‹un›, 雨 ‹in› and perhaps 公 ‹n› and 伏 ‹ń›. 木 ‹en› often follows a consonant or semivowel. Chinese words with medial -i- such as 陳 **chien* or 臣 **chien* ‘official’ are written either 木木 ‹c.en› or 木雨 ‹c.in›.

2.141 乐 ‹SEVEN›. Liu Fengzhu 1993c suggests this word might be related to Mo. *doloγan* ‘seven’. It seems to transcribe ‹dolo› in some names. There is also a dotted form, which was not included in the original *Research* list.

2.142 厍 ‹KNOW›. 厍 corresponds to 知 ‘know’ in official titles such as 知事 ‘to know matters’, i.e. ‘administrator’. It is often followed by 令 ‹t› as in 厍令 ‘administrators’.

2.143 又 ‹xua›. The expression 又 叏炏圣 ‹xua ŋ.y.êm› occurs in Ling 13 and 20. Toyoda 1991 suggested 叏炏圣 ‹ŋ.y.êm› might be 嚴 **ŋiam,* and so 又 叏炏圣 ‹hua ŋ.y.êm› would be 華嚴 Huayan. 華 is MC **xuae,* so presumably Liao **xua*. 又 叏圣 公及 今将 几亦 ‹xua ŋ.y.êm n.u s.iaŋ g.ün› would be 華嚴奴將軍 General Huayannu (Gu 7).

2.144 叉 ‹ún›. This is one of the most enigmatic graphs. Suggestions include *u, da, in* and *en.* 叉 appears in 尺交叉 及平 ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› in *Langjun*, where it corresponds to 仲冬 ‘mid-winter’. *Research* 1977 suggested **u, Research* 1985 suggested **da*. Ji Shi 1982 suggested **in*. Liu Fengzhu 1983b read 叉 *da, and 尺交叉 as **duanda*, 关叉关 ‹qid.ún.i› as

**kiday,* and 乐叉公 ‹qatun.ún.n› as **kadan*. Wang Hongli 1986 analyzed 关叉关 ‹qid.ún.i› as **xit-en-i*. From the changes made to the Daozong inscription, we can see that 国火丹叉 ‹hó.le.b.ún› is the equivalent of 国火中 ‹hó.le.bun› and 丂火丹叉 ‹al.le.b.ún› is the equivalent of 丂火中 ‹al.le.bun›. On the canopy of the Daozong inscription we read 又及 杰关秃公丹叉 ‹m.o c.i.is.de.b.ún›, but in the main part of the inscription 又及 杰关秃公中 ‹m.o c.i.is.de.bun›. Clearly 丹叉 = 中 ‹bun›, so 叉 must be [un]. Here it is written 叉 ‹ún› to distinguish it from 火 ‹un›, the genitive suffix. 叉公 ‹ún.n› 'now'; 叉夯 ~ 叉夯 ‹ún.e› 'now'; 叉公 伏叉犭 ‹ún.n mu.u.ji› 'the present sacred one [monarch, ruler] 今聖'.

2.145 了 ‹FORTY›. 了 毛矢 几卡 穴叉 及太□ 叉化 叉为去 仍关 ‹FORTY ONE:de ku.kå û.u o.oi□ u.ur ś.a.rí rẻŋ.i› (Xu 7) seems to correspond to the entry in the *Liaoshi* biography of Yelü Wotela: 年四十一, 始補本班郎君 'in the forty first year, for the first time he was appointed court gentleman in the same bureau' (Ji Shi 1996). If that is so, 了 must mean 'forty'. Its reading is unknown.

2.146 犭 ‹giů›. 犭亦 ‹giů.ün› transcribes 君 *jun *gün*, so perhaps 犭 is ‹giů›. Its meaning is unknown.

2.147 马 ‹jú› Allograph of 149.

2.148 丙 ‹jú› Allograph of 149.

2.149 子 ‹ju›. 友 黑 火気 子水 ‹tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› 職方郎中 **zhïfong langgün;* 子水 九同 ‹ju.uŋ g.iŋ› 中京 **zhungging* 'the central capital'. It often appears also in Kitan words: 久圡平 及子列 ‹ta.ha.ai o.ju.hu› 'covered, closed 掩閉'; 业及子圡- ‹p.o.ju.ha-› base form of 'became, promoted to the position of' (passive/causative).

2.150 孙 ‹ja›. 业同 孙気 友同 兆杏 ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï› 平章政事 **pingzhang zhingshï;* 子水 叉炏 又冇 不 业同 孙気 兆 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› 中書門下平章事 **zhiung shiu mun hia pingzhangshï.* 孙 often appears in Kitan words. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 孙化欠 ‹ja.ri.qó› is related to Mo. *jerge* 'rank, title'. Ji Shi translated 孙化欠 ‹ja.ri.qo› as 'prime minister 宰相'.

2.151 列 ‹hu›. *Research* noted that 列 appeared in: 叉気 分 列火 岁水 九亦 杰 ‹ś.aŋ pu hu.un tu.uŋ g.ün oŋ› 尚父混同郡王. 列火 ‹hu.un› corresponds to 混 **huen*. 列 ‹hu› is also very frequent in Kitan words. 列圠 ‹hu.ho› 'crow'

列化ㄨ ‹hu.ur.er› 'third', 将列出 ‹bo.hu.án› 'children'. It often appears in verbal morphology, where it is in opposition to 九 ‹gi› as suffix.

2.152 犳 ‹ji›. 犳 and 犳 153 are allographs, as is, probably, 礿 337. *Research* 77 suggested **sun; Research* 85 suggested **ku.* Ji Shi suggested **sun* from the cursive form of Chinese 孫 *sun*. Liu Fengzhu suggested **gu* from Chinese 孤 *gu*. Chinggeltei noted that the graphs 犳, 犳 and 礿 appear most frequently in verbal suffixes, with both back and front vowels. They are followed by suffixes such as 朩 ‹en› and 岙 ‹d›. So they might indicate a type of verbal noun. More recently the discovery of the name of the name 业欠犳 ‹po.qo.ji› in Dilie, which is given in the *Liaoshi* as *Puguzhi* 蒲古只, indicates that 犳 must be something like ‹ji›. Chinggeltei has suggested that 犳 ‹ji› might indicate a verbal noun similar to Mongol *-ci.*

2.153 犳 Allograph of 152.

2.154 不 ‹on›. Genitive suffix. 不 follows words such as 九火 杰不 ‹g.ui oŋ:on› 'of the king of the country 國王'. This word also appears initially in the word 不为出 ‹on.a.án› 'descended'.

2.155 乙 ‹FIFTY›. Based on context, Ji Shi translated Ling 18 与交 乙 丕 业号 ㄨ ‹eu.úr 乙 EIGHT p.iáu.er› as 'he died (?) at the age of fifty eight'. 与交 ‹eu.úr› means 'years of age'.

2.156 乇

2.157 乎

2.158 予

2.159 犬 ‹DAY›. We read in the *Liaoshi,* "In the national language, the first day of the new year 正旦 is called 乃捏咿兒 *nai-nie-yi-er*. 乃 *nai* means first 正, 捏咿兒 *nie-yi-er* means 'day ~ sun 日". In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read: "乃捏咿兒 *nai-nie-yi-er* means "the first day of the first month 正月朔旦". In Mo. *nara/n* is 'sun' and *edür* is 'day'.

2.160 玊. Transcribes 九 *jiu *gieu* 'nine', so may be ‹giu̓› (Aisin Gioro 2004:2).

2.161 关 ‹au›. Used in both Chinese and Kitan: 中关及 九同朩 中丙 叉与 ‹l.au.u g.iŋ:en l.iu ś.eu› 洛京之留守 **lauging leushieu* 'the *liushou* [regent,

viceroy] of Luojing'. In Kitan words it occurs in [Kitan] ‹s.au.qu› 'blue'. The 奥 *ao* in 略胡奥 *lüehu ao* 'the red woman' is presumably [Kitan] ‹au›. See Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:275, n.191. In the inscriptions [Kitan] ‹au› means 'elder sister'. A similar word, [Kitan] ‹aú› occurs in [Kitan] ‹aú.ui› '娘子 *niangzi*: a term of respect for a lady of high status'. [Kitan] and [Kitan] sometimes alternate, e.g. [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹oi.ri.u.ul.hu s.aú.ul.hu› in Zhong 33 and Dao 23 is written [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹oi.ri.u.ul.hu s.au.ul.hu.an› in Zhixian 16. Note also [Kitan] ‹au.ul.û.ui›, [Kitan] ‹au.ul.ha.ai›, [Kitan] ‹au.ul.ha.al.ún›, all forms of [Kitan] ‹au.ul›- 'to appoint'.

2.162 [Kitan] ‹c› ~ ‹ci› [Kitan] ‹ci.ŋ› 承, 成 **chieng,* [Kitan] ~ [Kitan] ‹c.in› ~ ‹c.en› 臣 **chien* 'official', [Kitan] ‹c.aŋ› 上 *shang*; [Kitan] [= [Kitan]]‹c.ah› 冊 **chai;* [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ci ci› 'together with, *et cetera*, and others 等, 以及'; [Kitan] ‹ci.er› 'written, written by': used at the end of inscriptions immediately preceding the name of the writer of the inscription: 題'; [Kitan] ‹c.i.is.de.bo.ń›, [Kitan] ‹c.i.is.de.bun› [Kitan]‹c.i.is.de.b.ún› 'filial piety'; [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹c.i.is.de.bun bo.qo› 'filial son'; [Kitan] ‹ci.i.is› 'blood; blood relative, clansman, relative' (Ji Shi 1988).

2.163 [Kitan] ‹ki› [Kitan] ‹ki.ên› transcribes 乾 **kien,* 縣 **hien* and 玄 **hüen,* suggesting there was no phonemic difference between [kh] and [x].

2.164 [Kitan]

2.165 [Kitan] ‹gu›. [Kitan] is commonly used in the word [Kitan] ‹te.gu›, which introduces a quotation (曰). Liu Deng Han 95 noticed that in the Bozhou inscription, there is a space preceding [Kitan] [Kitan]. [Kitan] ‹g.úr› means 'country', so [Kitan] should be the name of a country. (Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995). As this inscription was written during the Jin, the use of the space in front of it to indicate respect can only indicate the Jin dynasty. [Kitan] is ‹n›, [Kitan] is ‹i›. The Chinese word 女真 *Nüzhen* appears to be a borrowing from Kitan, that is, how the Kitans referred to the Jurchens. The Mongols called them *Jürčid*; the Jurchen name for themselves was *alčun* 'gold'. There is now general agreement that [Kitan] means 'Jurchen'. Aisin Gioro suggests that the underlying word is a form of 女古 **nügu*, the Kitan word for 'gold' corresponding to Chinese 金 *jin* in the *Liaoshi* glossary. This would mean ‹nu.i.gu› for [Kitan] and ‹gu› for [Kitan] .

2.166 [Kitan] ‹THREE›. Possibly [hur]. 'Third' is written [Kitan] ‹hu.ur.er›, [Kitan] ‹hu.ur.én›, [Kitan] ‹hur.er› or [Kitan] ‹hur.en› (Ji Shi 1983, Wang Hongli 1986). In Haitangshan, the ordinal numerals from first to eighth are spelt out.

These showed that the ordinal suffix is 㐅 ‹er› ~ 当 ‹én› which directly follows a numeral. 㐅 ‹er› is used with masculine nouns and 当 ‹én› with feminine nouns. 余 ‹hur› and 列化 ‹hu.ur› are both used as the basic stem in ‘third’. Cf. Mo. *ɣurba/n*.

2.167 包. Dotted form of 包 166: 包 半公 ‹3♂ ai:d› ‘three males, three fathers’.

2.168 为 ‹qo›. 为 appears in 伏为 ‹ńi.qo› ‘dog’ and 令为才 ‹te.qo.a› ‘hare’. In the *Liaoshi* glossary ‘dog’ is 捏褐 **nieho,* cf. Mo. *noqai*. *Research* read 伏为 as **nə-xəi* and 令为才 as **t’-xəi-ɑ.* Liu Fengzhu 1983b read 令为才 as **d ɑhɑ.*. Chinggeltei 1992 writes 伏为 as *nəxi* ~ *noxi*, and 令为才 as *t’ɑxiɑ.* As Chinggeltei 1997 notes, reconstructions such as *dɑhɑ, noxi, t’ɑxiɑ* show less reliance on the transcription values, and greater reliance on Mo. forms.

2.169 欠 ‹qó›. This graph only occurs in Kitan. Wang Hongli 1986 noticed that in the *Liaoshi* biography of 耶律斡特拉 Yelü Wotela, we read 北阻卜酋長磨古斯叛 “Mogusi, the chieftain of the northern Zubu, rebelled”. Elsewhere in the *Liaoshi* the name of this tribe is given as 阻卜 *Zubu* or 朮不古 *Zhubugu*. In Xu 17 we find 本生欠 ‹ci.bu.qó› and 本生欠不 ‹ci.bu.qó:on›, the genitive form, which seems to refer to the same tribe. 欠 is also in 孙化欠 ‹ja.ri.qó› ‘prime minister’.

2.170 RK ‹bả i›. Mnemonic from 派. Aisin Gioro 2004:53 notes that a title written RK in Zhixian 7 is written 八关 ‹bả.i› in Renxian 4, which suggests its reading is **bai.* Ji Shi suggests it means ‘licentiate, graduate of the imperial examination system’.

2.171 久 ‹da›. 久半 ‹da.ai› ~ 久半关 ‹da.ai.i› transcribes 大 **dai.* In Kitan it appears in 久쵸半 及子列 关 ‹da.ha.ai o.ju.hu DAY› ‘the day the coffin was covered’.

2.172 夂 ‹uh›. 赤夂 ‹w.uh› 武 *wu* ‘martial, military’, 付夂 僕 ‹b.uh› **pu* ‘servant’, 半夂 ‹l.uh› 祿 *lu* ‘salary. 夂 ‹uh› is sometimes used in words which ended in *k* in MC.

2.173 夊

2.174 冬 ‹as›. In Langjun we find 个号夫 쵸쵸冬 ‹s.iau.qu qa.ha.as› corresponding to the year *jiayin*. The cyclical branch 寅 *yin* corresponds to the zodiac animal ‘tiger’. In the 燕北錄 *Yanbeilu* we read: 番兵以蔞珍思為號，漢語熊虎二字也 “the barbarian soldiers use the term 蔞珍思

louzhensi as their name; in Chinese this means 熊虎 bear and tiger". In a revised edition of the *Yanbeilu*, we read "the barbarian soldiers use the term 蕃珂忍 *fankeren* as their name, in Chinese this means 龍虎 'dragon and tiger'." Most researchers agree that "bear and tiger" should read "dragon and tiger". Many suggestions have been made to try to reconcile this passage with 亟亞冬 ‹qa.ha.as›, none very convincing. 亟亞 ‹qa.ha› can be identified with 'king', so 亟亞冬 ‹qa.ha.as› might mean 'king of the beasts 獸王'. 冬本 ‹as.ar› occurs in the reign title 关 冬本, corresponding to 青寧 *Qingning* 'clear and quiet'.

2.175 各 ‹êŋ›. Wang Hongli recognised 仐各火 as 詳穩 *xiangwen*, a title probably derived from Ch. 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general': 仐各火 sometimes corresponds to 將軍 'general' in the inscriptions. The possible derivation of 詳穩 *xiangwen* from 相公 *xianggong* is not likely. Several suggestions have been made for 各: *əŋ, *kul, *aŋu. Here 各 is transcribed ‹êŋ› and 仐各火 ‹s.êŋ.un›. Chinggeltei 2002b has suggested 仐各火 may not be *xiangwen* at all. In the texts he examined, 仐各 appears once, 仐各尼 three times, 仐各火 twenty one times. 仐各火 does not appear with any suffixes, as one would expect from a noun.

2.176 刈 ‹bú›. Probably a allograph of 刈. In Renyi we read 刈 丙本及火关 公朩刈 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i n.ad.bú›. 丙本及火关 ‹ei.ra.u.ud:i› is the genitive form of 丙本及火 ‹ei.ra.u.ud› 'Yelü'. 刈 occurs in the expression 米及 介交 公朩刈 ‹ORDO.u heu.úr n.ad.bú› 行宮春捺鉢 'travelling palace, *ordo*, spring *nabo*'. 公朩刈 ‹n.ad.bú› is *nabo.* Under 朩 ‹ad› 099, it was suggested that 公朩 生朩 ‹n.ad bu.ad› means *nabo*. If 公朩刈 ‹n.ad.bú› is similar to 公朩 生朩 ‹n.ad bu.ad›, then 刈 = 生朩 ‹bu.ad›, written here ‹bú›, but perhaps **bad.* Sometimes the suggestion is made that 刈 refers to the Xiao clan, the imperial maternal clan. The term Xiao has not been identified in the Kitan inscriptions. It seems to be a Chinese word to include a number of Kitan families who married into the Yelü clan.

2.177 刈 ‹rå›. Other suggestions: *lus, la, ris.* This graph is usually discussed in the context of 买关 ‹qid.i› and 北刈 ‹xu.rå›. See 4.58.

2.178 几 ‹ku›. Toyoda 1991 recognised that 几 means 'man, person', and that 业及 几 ‹p.u ku› corresponds to 臣 *chén* 'official'. Liu 1995 noticed that 几火交 ‹ku.uŋ.úr› corresponded to the name 控骨里 *kungguli*, confirming the value of 几 as ‹ku›. Toyoda suggested the reading *kü'ün* cf. Mo. *kümün*. Chinggeltei noted that in the rhymes in the inscriptions, 几 seems to have a [u] type vowel. The genitive form of 几 ‹ku› is 几只火 ‹ku.û.un›. Zongjiao 19

contains a quote from the *Book of Odes:* [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹sh:de te.gu: as.ar n.ai.ci.er giů.ün ss hor.u ku.û.un ai mó› [Kitan] ‹sh› is 詩 *shi*, referring to the *Book of Odes*. [Kitan] ‹te.gu› introduces direct speech (曰). [Kitan] ‹as.ar› is 'peaceful, quiet'. [Kitan] ‹n.ai.c.er› is 'harmonious'. [Kitan] ‹hor.u› is 'people'. [Kitan] ‹ku.û.un› is 'man' (genitive). [Kitan] ‹ai› is 'father', [Kitan] ‹mó› is 'mother'. [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹sh:de te.gu› 'in the *Book of Odes*'. Aisin Gioro identified this as Ode 251: 豈弟君 子, 民之父母 "How much more then should the happy and courteous sovereign be the parent of his people?" The Kitan version can be translated "the peaceful harmonious gentleman (*junzi*) is the father and mother of the people".

2.179 [Kitan] ‹dú›: a locative suffix corresponding to [Kitan] ‹do› and [Kitan] ‹de›, used after words with the main vowel [u]: [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹SIX g.iu.uŋ.dú› 'in the six palaces 六宮'. Cf. [Kitan] ‹ORDO.u.dú› 'in the ordo' [Kitan] ‹ku.û.dú› 'among the men, among the people'; [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ś.iú:dú te.gu› 'in the *Book of Documents* it says' (Nu 34).

2.180 [Kitan] ‹sh›. Transcribes the Chinese syllable **shï* and clearly shows the existence of [ï] in Liao Chinese. Examples: [Kitan], [Kitan] ‹sh, sh.ï› 事 *shï* 'affair, matter, to serve'; [Kitan], [Kitan] ‹sh, sh.ï› 使 *shï* 'envoy' [Kitan] ‹sh› 史 *shï* 'history, historian' [Kitan] ~ [Kitan] ‹sh.ï› 侍 *shï* 'to wait on', [Kitan] ‹sh› 師 *shï* 'teacher, army'. However, there are many other examples in which 使 and similar words are written [Kitan] ‹ś.i›. There were no retroflexes in Kitan, so we can say that transcriptions of the [Kitan] ‹ś.i› type were broad, reflecting Kitan pronunciation, and transcriptions of the [Kitan] ‹sh.ï› type narrow, reflecting more closely the Chinese pronunciation.

2.181 [Kitan] ‹iúŋ›. [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **liung hu wei shang giang gün* 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guard' *(Research).*

2.182 [Kitan]

2.183 [Kitan] ‹car›. Ji Shi translated [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹t.iu.rẻn.iń oŋ po.ho i.ri car.a› in the Renxian inscription as "the childhood name of Prince Jiuling was Chara". This is based on Yelü Renxian's biography in the *Liaoshi*.

2.184[Kitan] ‹am›. [Kitan] is in [Kitan] ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam* and [Kitan] ‹g.ia.am› 監 **giem.*

2.185 [Kitan] ‹åm›

2.186 及 ‹o›. This graph appears in 仐及 ‹s.o› 左 *zo and 戈及 ‹ś.o› 率 *sho. It also occurs in Kitan words, such as 又及 ‹m.o› 'big' 仕北及 ‹mu.ho.o› 'snake', 业及 ‹po.o› ~ 业及及 ‹p.o.o› '*shen*, monkey'. Chinggeltei suggests 仕北及 ‹mu.ho.o› should be read **mogo*. Also: 及米 ‹o.ordu› 'ordo'; 及米夂 ‹o.ordu.u› 'ordo'; 及米夂叱 ‹o.ordu.u.dú› 'ordo' (locative); 及子伏 ‹o.ju.iń› ~ 及子叉 ‹o.ju.ún› 'to appoint 任 ~ 除'.

2.187 及 ‹TEN THOUSAND›. Perhaps ‹tủmu›. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested 及 might mean 'ten thousand'. 及 appears in the present corpus 13 times, but never following another numeral. Examples: 及 火 ten thousand matters 萬事' 及 九亦朩 ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:en› 'of ten thousand countries 萬國' (Toyoda 1992); 及 九亦仐 亜伞 亚 ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se hur.ú qa› 'khan in control of ten thousand countries'; 矢 介亦 及 公乃亦 ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› 'a thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋' (Toyoda 1998).

2.188 州 ‹zỏ›.Mnemonic from 州. 州欠 means 'small, young', as in 九亦朩 力亚出父 州欠 丈 朩 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT:en› 'the younger (junior) branch of the imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳'. The *Liaoshi* informs us that the maternal uncle lineage of the Liao had two branches, 大翁帳 *da weng zhang* and 小翁帳 *xiao weng zhang*. Amongst these, 小 *xiao* corresponds to 州欠. Chinggeltei relates 州欠 to Mo. *baɣa* 'small', and suggests 州 may be read **ba.* Aisin Gioro suggests **od.*

2.189 为 ‹a›: 又为 ‹m.a› 馬 **ma*; 쑤为平 ‹l.a.an› **lan* 蘭 쑤为平. Kitan 圣为 ‹êm.a› 'goat; cyclical term 未', 令力为 ‹te.qo.a› 'chicken, cyclical term 酉', 戋欠为 ‹tau.lí.a› 'hare, rabbit, cyclical term 卯'; 为 ‹a› 'to be at, to be present at 在'.

2.190 刈 ‹å›.

2.191 丸

2.192 九 śỉ. Corresponds to Chinese 氏 *shi,* 'name, family name, used after women's names to indicate their family name before marriage'.

2.193 九

2.194 坙

2.195 午 ‹ů›. Mnemonic from 午.
2.196 生 ‹bu›. Wang Hongli 1986 recognized 今生丙厺 ‹te.bu.ei.er› as 撻不也 Tabuye, a common name in the *Liaoshi.* Tabuye is said to mean ‘a tiller of fields’. *Jinshi* glossary: 荅不也, 耕田者. In the *Liaoshi* the name appears as 撻不也 Tabuye and 撻不衍 Tabuyan. This is probably not a Jurchen word, as there is no equivalent in Manchu. Also in 生 ‹bu› ‘grandfather’ 生 半 ‹bu ai› ‘grandfather’; 生 生 半 ‹bu bu ai› ‘great grandfather’.

2.197 朱 ‹ah›. 朱 transcribes Chinese [ai] in 又半 九火 舟朱 ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah› ~ 叔半 九火 舟朱 ‹k.ai g.ui b.ah› 開國伯 **kaigueibai* ‘elder who assisted in founding the state’. In some transcriptions, there seems to be some confusion between 朱 ‹ah› and 余 ‹qu›. 伯 may have had a glottal stop in Liao Chinese, and it is not clear if the use of 朱 ‹ah› instead of 半 ‹ai› in such words reflects this.

2.198 夂

2.199 気 ‹aŋ›. 伞同 九気 九亦 ‹z.iŋ g.aŋ g.ün› 靜江軍 **cinggiang gün* ‘the Jingjiang army’; 业同 刋気 兆 ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› 平章事 **pingzhangshï* ‘official title’. Cf. 並 ‹iáŋ›.

2.200 方 Possibly an allograph of 当202 or力168.

2.201 方 Possibly an allograph of 考 ‹ên›. Cf. Gu 25: 又交方 ‹x.ie.201› 賢 **hien* ‘virtuous’.

2.202 当 ‹tu›. 当火 ‹tu.uŋ› transcribes 同 **tung* and 統 **tung.* In Kitan it appears in 当交屮 ‹tu.úr.bun› ~ 当交舟叉 ‹tu.úr.b.ún› ‘died, passed away (honorific: 薨).’

2.203 先 Possibly ‹lå›. 吊先 might mean ‘previous, past’. 吊 is ‹ca›. If this word is related to Ma. *cala* ‘previously, before’, 先 might be ‹lå›.

2.204 矢 ‹shỉ›. Mnemonic from 矢.

2.205 矢 ‹de›. Locative suffix: 丞 叉当矢 ‹tai m.iau:de› ‘in the imperial ancestral temple, the Taimiao 太廟’; 半矢 ‹ai:de› ‘in that year’. There is no independent proof for the usual reading (*Research,* Chinggeltei, Ji Shi, Liu, Aisin Gioro) of 矢 as ‹de›. The Mongol locative suffix is *du/dü* < OMo. *dur/dür*. In Jin Jurchen the locative suffixes were probably *dö* and *du*. Another Kitan locative suffixes are 朱 ‹do›, used after stems with the vowel

[o], and 凡 ‹dú›, used after [u]. If the Kitan prolative (ablative) suffix ‘from’ 矢关 ‹de.i› is related to Ma. *deri*, this might be evidence for a final [r] in 矢 ‹de›.

2.206 灰 ‹lí›. 灰 appears in the word 戈灰为 ‹tau.lí.a› ‘hare’ cf. *Liaoshi* glossary 陶里 *taoli* ‘hare’. Cf. Mo. *taulai* ‘hare’.

2.207 关 ‹THOUSAND›. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 give the following examples: 业为本 业雨 圣 关 ‹p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND› 食邑二千 (Linggong). 食邑 means “lit. to feed off a fief: a general reference to land-grant nobles, who had broad political, military and fiscal control over tracts awarded to them” (Hucker 5258). Also: 业为本 业雨 戈 关 ‹p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND› ‘fiefdom of five thousand households’ (Renxian). Toyoda 98 pointed out that if 关 means ‘thousand’, 关 介交 及 公乃交 ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› in Xuan 30 means ‘a thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’. 关 may be ‹mi̓ŋ›: cf. 关来 is *meng’an* 孟安. Cf. Ming Jurchen 皿干 *min’gan* ‘thousand’ (Ki. 664); Mo. *mingɣa* ~ *mingɣan* ‘thousand’. Also: 关来 穴公 ‹miŋ.an nai:d› ‘the leaders of a *meng’an*’.

2.208 发 ‹lu›. 发 corresponds to the cyclical sign 辰 *chen*, i.e. 龍 *long*, ‘dragon’. Cf. Mo. *luu* , Tu. *luu* ‘dragon’. In 发雨 令同 九杰 发 久丰关 分 ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu› 銀青光祿大夫 **yinqing guanglu daifu* **ngincing gunglu daifu*, 祿 *lu* is transcribed 小夂 ‹l.uh›. 皮 is an allograph. The form with a dot (发 209) seems to be a mistranscription.

2.209 发 See 208 发.

2.210 尓 ‹aú›. In 尓火 ‘‹aú.ui› 娘子 *niangzi:* title of a woman of noble rank’.

2.211 七 ‹THIRTY›. Reading unknown.

2.212 亍

2.213 生 ‹to›. *Research* noticed that 生不 小文方 ‹to.on l.ie.ên› transcribes 團練 **tonlien* ‘trainband prefect’ Seeing 生 precedes 不 ‹on›, it can be transcribed ‹to›.

2.214 六 ‹dá›. Allograph of 久 ‹da› 171 and 久‹da› 215.

2.215 久 ‹da›. Allograph of 六 ‹dá› 214 and 久‹da› 171.

2.216 火 Used in the word 火列, the cyclical sign 子; corresponding to 鼠 'rat'. Its pronunciation is unknown.

2.217 朱 ‹do›. 朱 regularly appears with 兆 ‹po› 'time'. It seems to be a locative suffix following stems with the main vowel [o].

2.218 亐 ‹doro› ~ ‹SEAL› ~ ‹RITUAL›. 亐 regularly corresponds to 禮 'ritual, rite, ceremony'. It also appears in the Jin reign title 大定 Dading 关 亐圡乃 ‹HEAVEN doro.ha.am›. In Di 2, 亐 业半廾朩 叉为夫公 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d› means 'court attendants of the bureau of seals and tallies'.

2.219 与 Possibly an allograph of与.

2.220 行 ‹mú›. Ji Shi recognised in 伏行欠伏 ‹ńi.mú.qú.ń› the Kitan name written 粘木袞 *Niemugun* in the *Liaoshi*. It is followed by 业艾伞火 ‹p.y.z.iú› 别胥 '*biexu*, a title of nobility for a woman'. A similar name appears in the form 伏行欠 ‹ńi.mú.qó›, corresponding to 涅木古 *Niemugu* in the *Liaoshi*. The form with *n* indicates a 'second name'.

2.221 伙 Possibly an allograph of 伏 222.

2.222 伏 ‹ń›. This graph seems to be read [ńi] initially and [iń] finally. Other graphs may also have this characteristic, but the evidence at the moment is scanty. In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read "捏褐耐, 犬首也" **nieho nai* means 'head of a dog', so the Kitan word for 'dog' was something like **nieho*. In the inscriptions, this corresponds to 伏为 ‹ńi.qo›, the cyclical branch corresponding to 狗 'dog'. Cf. Mo. *noqai* 'dog'. Modern forms of Mongol all have [no] in the first syllable. Kitan "second names" end in 伏, and are regularly transcribed with Chinese [iŋ]; when it is final, I transcribe it ‹iń›.

2.223 仕 Possibly an allograph of 仕 224.

2.224 仕 ‹mu›. 仕北及 ‹mu.ho.o› means 'snake', the zodiac animal corresponding to the branch 巳, cf. Mo. *moɣai* 'snake'. 仕小九 ‹mu.le.gi› is the temple name of Emperor Taizong. 仕火犳 ‹mu.u.ji› corresponds to '聖 holy, sacred, referring to the emperor', cf. 仕火犳 介 ‹mu.u.ji heu› '聖后 sacred empress'; 仕火犳 丞 ‹mu.u.ji qa› 聖汗 'sacred khan'. Evidently a variety of [m], it seems to be used with rounded or back vowels, while X ‹m› is used with unrounded or front vowels.

2.225 付 ‹bi›. Only used in Chinese 付同 又为 仃 九才圣 ‹bi.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› *bingma dugiem* 兵馬都監.

2.226 仲 ‹ü›. In 叉火 又关 仲公 ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n› 樞密院 *shiumi'nguan* and 发仲公 业关 ‹ŋ.ü.n p.i› 元妃 *Yuan Fei.*

2.227 仅 ‹jỉn›. Mnemonic from 仅. Possibly an allograph of 仅 230 and 仸 231. Langjun 3 仅 仐欠州朩亜丂叉 ‹jỉn se.qo.zỏ.l.ha.al.ún› corresponds to 修飾 *xiushi* 'repair, ornament, embellish'. 仅 might mean 'appearance, external appearance'. Its pronunciation is unknown. Aisin Gioro suggests *jisu*, cf. Mo. *jisü* 'appearance, shape, face, feature'.

2.228 仃 ‹lú›. Aisin Gioro 2004:22 equates 朩仃分 with the tribal name 初魯德 [chu-lu-de], *Chulud, so ‹ci.lú.dû›.

2.229 仍 ‹ta›. 仍 appears in Langjun: 仍気村 亜夯 朩同矢 ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ› 'at the Tang Qianling [tomb]'. This word also appears in the phrase 关 仍 穴夯 汞 in the Daozong inscription. 关 'sky, heaven', 穴夯 'earth' and 汞 'eternal, forever'. *Research* concluded that the phrase means 天長地永 'heaven is forever and earth is eternal'. This would suggest the Kitan word for 'long ~ long time' is 仍 ‹ta›.

2.230 仅 Allograph of 仅.

2.231 仸 Allograph of 仅.

2.232 伇

2.233 仉 ‹kú›. Possibly an allograph of 几 ‹ku› 'man'. Renxian 7: 仉卡 ‹kú.kả› is written elsewhere 几卡 ‹ku.kả›.

2.234 仍 ‹rẻŋ›. Mnemonic from 仍.

2.235 亿 ‹ri›. 亿 appears in 又亿 ‹mo.ri› 'horse', cf. Mo. *mori ~ morin* 'horse' and 关亿 ‹i.ri› 'name'. 亿九村 ‹ri.g.en› is a Kitan title, *yilijin*. 亿 ‹ri› might be [ri] or [ir].

2.236 化 ‹ur›. 化 often appears in ordinal numbers: 朩化关 ‹c.ur.er› 'second', 列化关 ‹hu.ur.er›, 'third' 圣化关 ‹d.ur.er› 'fourth'. Chinggeltei 1999

suggested □□□ □□ ‹ci.g.en u.ur› 'left division' and □□ □ ‹u.ur ai› 'former fathers = ancestors'.
2.237 □ ‹du›: □□ □ □ ‹z.ie du sh› **ziedushï* 'military commissioner 節度使'. □ □□ ‹du tu.uŋ› **dutung* 'campaign commander 都統 '.

2.238 □ ‹BORN›: □ □ □□ □□ □ ‹hoŋ tai heu:un BORN:er DAY› 'the day the empress dowager was born' (Renyi 10). A jade cup in the Qianlong collection of antiquities has a Kitan inscription: □ □□ □□ □ □□ □ □□ ‹neu mó.n BORN:er DAY, go.er qa û.er› 'on the birth day of the empress, the family khan gave her [this]'. Luo Fucheng explained the first part, Chinggeltei the second. Ji Shi 1982 proposed that □ be read *tur*, cf. Mo. *törü-* 'to be born'. Wang Hongli 1986 suggested *men* cf. Mo. *mendüle-* 'to be born, said of illustrious persons'.

2.239 □ ‹bå›. Mnemonic from 八. □ also means 里 *li* 'a Chinese mile'.

2.240 □ ‹TEN›. The Jurchen numerals from twelve to nineteen are: *jirxon, gurxon, dürxon, toboxon, ñirxon, dalxon, ñuxon, oñoxon*. (Janhunen 2003a). Apart from the stems for 'eight' and 'nine' they are clearly related to the Mongol basic numerals. In the Kitan inscriptions the teens are expressed by the graphs for 'ten-two', 'ten-three' and so on, like Chinese. The pronunciation of □ could be [hon] or similar. It is still unknown if the Jurchen words for the teens actually did come from Kitan.

2.241 □ ‹pu›. Used to transcribe the Ch. syllable [fu] 夫, 傅, 父, 輔, 駙, 副 府. 副 is written □ ‹pu› or □□ ‹pu.u›, and 府 written □ ‹pu› or □ ‹fu›. □ is also found in the Kitan word □□□□□ ‹pu.kå.l.ge.er› '天慶 Tianqing, a reign title'. Presumably Kitan did not have an initial [f], so □ may have been ‹pu›. So the underlying form of □□□ ‹pu.is.iń› 夫人 would be *SXåIQ* rather than **IXåIQ* The difference between □ and □ is unknown; the original distinction may have been □ ‹pu› and □ ‹fu›, the dot indicated a modified form. If there was no [f] in Kitan it is not surprising if □ and □ were not differentiated in later inscriptions.

2.242 □ ‹fu›. See 2.241.

2.243 □ ‹HEAVEN›. Readings such as *teŋri, dəŋri, təŋgər, tŋgri* and the like are sometimes suggested, but there is no evidence. Ji Shi noticed that the word written □□□□ ‹se.bu.o.ho› 'inherited the throne, succeeded to the throne' in the imperial epitaphs was written □□□□ ‹se.bu.243.ho› in the Renxian inscription. In that case, the reading of □ should be close to □‹o›,

but this is more likely to be a mistranscription. [Khitan] ‹HEAVEN ta, neu.e ETERNAL› ‘heaven is long, earth is eternal 天長地久’ (Dao 37); [Khitan] ‘heaven and earth’ corresponding to 乾坤, which is a literary term for ‘heaven and earth’. (Xuanyi 10, Renxian 36, Zhixian 19); [Khitan] ‹HEAVEN.neu.e ei.eu.ur.û.ji:en› ‘乾坤旋轉 heaven and earth revolve’ (Renxian 36).

2.244 [Khitan] ‹s›. Used in Kitan words and Chinese words. [Khitan] is used to transcribe Chinese [s], [ts] and [ts’]. [Khitan] ‹s.i› ‘west’ **si;* [Khitan] s.ie.ên› ‘immortal’ 仙 **sien*; [Khitan] ‹s.y.iên› 宣 **süen;* [Khitan] ‹s.a.am› 三 **sam;* [Khitan] ‹s.iau› 小 **siau*. In the following words, [Khitan] transcribes [tsh]: [Khitan] ‹s.iŋ› 青 **cing* ‘green’; [Khitan] ‹s.i› ‘lacquer’ 漆 **ci;* [Khitan] ‹s.ie.ên› ‘before’ 前 **cien.* In the following words, [Khitan] transcribes Chinese [ts]: [Khitan] ‹s.iu› 酒 **ziu* ‘wine’; [Khitan] ‹s.iaŋ› ‘general’ 將 **ziang* [Khitan] ‹s.úŋ› 宗 **zong;* [Khitan] ‹s.ú› 祖 **zu* ‘ancestor’; [Khitan] ‹s.ï› 子 **zï* ‘son’. [Khitan] also appears in the reign title [Khitan] ‹GREAT s.en› ‹s.en› = [isin] ‘great longevity 壽昌’ (壽: ‘longevity’); [Khitan] ‹s.iau.qu› ‘甲, 乙; blue’; [Khitan] ‹s.uni› ‘night’. Other examples: [Khitan] ‹se.mu.én o.ORDU.u.dú› ‘in the travelling palaces’ (Dao 5), [Khitan] ‹se.m.én ORDU.ú› ‘travelling palace’.

2.245 [Khitan] ‹ú›. [Khitan] often appears in the word 祖 **zu* ‘ancestor’: [Khitan] ‹t.ei z.ú› 德祖 Dezu, [Khitan] ‹i.i z.ú› 懿祖 Yizu; [Khitan] ‹tai s.ú› 太祖 Taizu; [Khitan] ‹ú s.iŋ ki.en› 武清縣 Wuqing county. In other inscriptions, 武 **wu* is written [Khitan] ‹w.u›. So [Khitan] ‹ú› and [Khitan] ‹w.u› must be similar in pronunciation. [Khitan] ‹ú› alternates with [Khitan] ‹u› and [Khitan] ‹ó› in the word *ordu*, written [Khitan] ‹ORDU.ú› [Khitan] ‹ORDU.u› or [Khitan] ‹ORDU.ó›. The name 斡特拉 Wotela is written [Khitan] ‹ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar›.

2.246 [Khitan] ‹qu›. [Khitan] appears in [Khitan] ‹s.iau.qu› ‘blue’, [Khitan] ‹l.iau.qu› ‘red’ and [Khitan] ‹m.as.qu› ‘first’. Sometimes it seems to be confused with [Khitan] ‹ah›, as in the word [Khitan]([Khitan]) [Khitan] ‹c.ah w.un› 冊文 **chaiwun* ‘text of an inscription’.

2.247 [Khitan] ‹t›. [Khitan] appears to transcribe both [d] and [t]. [Khitan] ‹t.uŋ› 通 **tung*; [Khitan] ‹t.ie.ên› **dien* ‘palace’; [Khitan] ‹t.ei› 德 **dei* ‘virtue’, [Khitan] ‹te.qo.a› ‘chicken’, [Khitan] ‹te.ge.er› ‘deceased’, [Khitan] ‹t.em.l.ge.er› ‘enfeoffed 封’; [Khitan] ‹te.gu› ‘said 曰’; [Khitan] ‹te.bu.ei.en› ‘撻不衍 Tabuyan’. Cf. [Khitan] ‹te.bu.ei.er› or [Khitan] ‹te.bu.ei.i›: ‘ Tabuye 撻不也’.

2.248 乍 ‹YOUNG›. 乍夫 ‹YOUNG.qú› is often followed by 与化 ‹eu.ur› 'time, age, period', and is sometimes contrasted with 又仌夫 ‹m.ó.qú› 'old, elder, eldest' when listing elder and younger siblings.

2.249 分 ‹dû›. The name 斡特拉 Wotela is spelled in two ways, 米中並为出 ‹ORDO.le.ha.a.án› and 伞分中並为木 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, so it can be seen that 米 ‹ORDO› = 伞分 ‹ú.dû›. Chinggeltei 1999 compared 又 伞分廾及内 ‹GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón›, the reign title Da'an 大安 'Great Peace' with the word 窩篤碗 *wodu'on* in the *Liaoshi* glossary.

2.250 介 ‹heu›. 介 appears in 主 介 ‹hoŋ heu› 皇后 **hongheu* 'empress'.

2.251 公 ‹n›. 公同 ‹n.iŋ› 寧 **ning;* 公火 ‹n.ui› 内 **nuei* (note medial -u- in the Liao Chinese form); 曲公 帀 兆 ‹go.n ca sh› **gonchashï* 'investigative official 觀察使' (note lack of medial -u- in the Liao Chinese form); 发仲公 业关 ‹ŋ.ü.n p.i› 'Yuan Fei 元妃'; 公右矢 圡九当 月伞 ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› 'epitaph, inscription written on a tomb 墓誌銘' (公右 ‹ne.ra› = tomb); 公乃交 ‹n.am.úr› 'autumn'; 公不 ‹n.on› 'generation'; 公关勺 ‹n.i.gu› 'Jurchen, gold'; 公关勺 九交却 ‹n.i.gu g.úr:en› 'of the Jurchen state'.

2.252 仌 ‹ó›. 仌 alternates with 及, as in 又及 ‹m.o› ~ 又仌 ‹m.ó› 'big', 公仌 ‹n.ó› ~ 公及 ‹n.o› 'spouse'. (Aisin Gioro 2004:11).

2.253 仌. Possibly an allograph of 仌252.

2.254 全 ‹d›. Like 令 ‹t› 2.247, 全 seems to transcribe both [t] and [d]. These two graphs seem to be interchangeable in both Chinese and Kitan words; Wang Jingru suggested 令 is a cursive allograph of 全. Nevertheless, there is clearly some difference between them: 半全 ‹ai:d› 'fathers, males' is the plural of 半 ‹ai›, but 丙令 ‹mó:t› 'mothers, females' is the plural of 丙 ‹mó› 'mother'. Examples of 全 are 全万 ‹d.ei› 德 **dei* 'virtue'; 全万 ‹d.ei› 特 **dei* 'special' (Modern Mandarin *tè* is irregular, we would expect *dé*); 全化夾 ‹d.ur.er› 'fourth', 关 全丙刃 ‹HEAVEN d.iu.rẻn› 天德 Tiande; 全金中条夾 ‹d.em.l.ge.er› 'was enfeoffed'. All of these words can also be found written with 令. Other examples: 全丙夾 ‹d.iu.er› in 关 全丙夾 ‹HEAVEN d.iu.er›, also written 关 令丙夾 ‹HEAVEN t.iu.er› Jin dynasty reign title Jin Tianhui 天會. The stem 全金 ‹d.em› means 'to enfeoff, to grant an honorary title 封'.

2.255 仝 ‹or›. 仝 occurs in 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› 'made, caused to be [promoted to a position]'. This is a past suffix in the series 木‹ar› 夾‹er› and 仝 ‹or›.

2.256 佡

2.257 佥 ‹em›. A personal name in the Zongjiao inscription, 令佥当 ‹t.em.én›, is transcribed 特每 **deimui* or 特免 **deimien,* the form with the suffix 伏 ‹iń› indicates the Kitan "second name". This would tend to suggest that 佥 is [em]. In the rewritten lines of the Daozong inscription, 仕佥伞九 ‹mu.em.se.gi› was rewritten 乇伞九 ‹乇.se.gi›. So 乇 'one' must be pronounced 仕佥 ‹mu.em› **mem*. The stem of the word 'to enfeoff, to grant an honorary title' is 公佥 ‹d.em›, similar to Mongol *temdeg-* and Manchu *temgetu* 'sign', as in *temgetulembi* 'to confer a mark of distinction on'. So 叔佥 'edict' would be ‹k.em›. Lu and Zhou 2001 suggested that 佥村 穴公 ‹em:en nai:d› in Langjun corresponds to 'local officials 地方首長', so 佥 em› would mean 'place' and 佥村 ‹em:en› 'local'.

2.258 伞 ‹z›. Appears mainly in Chinese words: 伞丙 ‹z.iu› 酒 **ziu* 'wine', 伞关 ‹z.i› 濟 **zi* 'name of a place'; 伞文 ‹z.ie› 節 **zie* 'branch'; 伞同 ‹z.iŋ› 靜 **zing* 'quiet'; 伞当 ‹z.úŋ› 宗 **zung* 'ancestor; used in emperors' temple names'; 伞谷 ‹z.ï› 紫 **zï* 'purple'; 伞将 ‹z.iaŋ› 將 **ziang;* 伞关 ‹z.i› 祭 **zi* 'sacrifice', 伞雨 ‹z.in› 進 **zin* enter, 伞伞 ‹z.ú› 祖 **zu* 'ancestor' 伞谷 ‹z.ï›, 子 **zï*; 伞及 ‹z.o› 左 **zo* 'left [side]'.

2.259 汆 ‹THIRD›. Possibly ‹hur›. The word for 'third' is 列化公 ‹hu.ur.er›, sometimes also written 汆公, so 列化 ‹hu.ur› =汆 ‹hur›. See 包 166.

2.260 今 ‹FOURTH›. This graph is only found in 今化 'fourth'.

2.261 个 ‹l›. 个凡 ‹l.iúŋ› 龍 **liung* (note the medial -i- in the Liao form); 个並 ‹l.iáŋ› 梁 **liang;* 个为买 ‹l.a.an› 蘭 **lan* 'orchid'; 个久 ‹l.uh› 祿 **lu* MC luk*;* 穴平公个叉 ‹û.ul.ge.l.ún› 'married [of a woman] 嫁, 適'; 公佥个公丙 ‹d.em.l.ge.ei› 'enfeoffed 封' 个丙刃公 ‹l.iu.rėn.er› 'died [of an emperor]崩'; 业币个叉 ‹p.od.l.ún› 'returned'; 个並 叉为买 ‹l.iáŋ ś.a.an› Liangshan, Mount Liang 梁山'; 个关 本丰村 ‹l.i c.eu› 'Lizhou, Li prefecture 醴州'; 个圣为 ‹l.êm.a› *'linya* 林牙'; 个圣列为 ‹l.êm.hu.a› *'linya* 林牙'; 个同 九次 ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ› 'Linggong 令公'; 个丰 叉关 丕 杰不 ‹l.eu ś.i tai oŋ› Loushi dawang 婁室大王 (Jurchen general who defeated the Liao); 个凡 北 火 叉気 今将 九亦 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **lunghuwei shangzianggün* 龍虎衛上將軍 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guard'; 个丙刃公 ‹l.iu.rėn.er› 'died (honorific term:崩)'; 个号余 ‹l.iau.qu› 'red'.

2.262 火 ‹ui›. 火 ‹ui› regularly translates 'matter, affair 事', and is used to transcribe Chinese words such as 衛 *wei,* 尉 *wei* etc. It is also used for the

cyclical stem 亥 *hai* ‘pig’. Some scholars have suggested it is read *uil* or *uile*, with which one can compare Mo. and Ma. *weile* ‘affair, business’. Cf. Ju. *ulgian* ‘pig’, where -*gian* is a nominal suffix, perhaps leaving the stem as **ul-*. It is used in the expression 火 层关 ‹ui KNOW.i›, which corresponds to 知事, ‘managing the affairs of’. 九火 ‹g.ui› 國 **guei* ‘country, state’; X火 ‹ś.ui› 水 **shuei* ‘water’; 公火 ‹n.ui› 内 **nuei* ‘inside’; 穴火 ‹û.ui› ‘give, provide’; (‹ui› in these examples might be a converb suffix); 乂火杰 ‹x.ui.ci› ‘after he arrived’.

2.263 炏 ‹ui›. Allograph of 火 262: 炏 ui 衛 **wei,* 尉 **wei;* X炏 ‹ś.ui› 水 **shuei* ‘water’; 九X 发及 炏 X气 今並 九亦 ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› **gim’nguwei shang zianggün* 金吾衛上將軍 . 火 are 炏 are both common and in many cases interchangeable, but 炏 tends to be used more in Ch. words, the dot perhaps indicating a reading slightly different from 火.

2.264 发 ‹ŋ›. This is used in Chinese words to transcribe initial or final [ŋ]. Examples: 发关 ‹ŋ.i› 儀 **ngi;* 发及 ‹ŋ.u› 吾 **ngu;* X发 ‹śi.ŋ› 聖 **shing;* 发币 ‹ŋ.in› 銀 **ngin;* 发灾 ‹ŋ.iú› 御 **ngiu;* 发共公 ‹ŋ.y.n› ~ 发共虫 ‹ŋ.y.iên› ~ 发仲公 ‹ŋ.ü.n› 元 **ngüen*.

2.265 叅

2.266 乂 [SIXTY]. 当灾 爻 圣夭 平丙刃当 ‹eu.úr 爻 TWO:de l.iu.rẻn:én› ‘he died at the age of sixty two’ (Renyi 12). (Wang Hongli 1986). 爻 is a mistake for 乂. 乂 毛 伏及歹 为生伏 ‹SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.iń› ‘the sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦’ (Toyoda 1991, 1992).

2.267 爻 See 2.266

2.268 圣 ‹yỉ›.

2.269 夰 =夰 341 (?)

2.270 圣 ‹êm›. 圣 is found with back or front vowels: 刃圣刃 ‹hu.êm.hu›, a name which in the *Liaoshi* is transcribed 匣馬葛 **hiamaho*; 圣为 ‹êm.a› ‘goat, mountain goat 山羊’; 圣杰 ‹êm.ci› ‘after he drank’; 平圣为 ‹l.êm.a› **limŋa* ‘*linya* 林牙: Kitan official title’. In Chinese loanwords: 公文方 今文方 仃 公圣 九文圣 ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› 殿前都點檢 **diencien du diem giem* ‘chief inspector of the palace command’.

2.271 夂

2.272 [Khitan] ‹bú›. Ji Shi 1996 suggested that [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹le.bů.uh s.êŋ.un› stands for 魯不古 詳穩 *Lubugu xiangwen*, Lubugu being a name found in the *Liaoshi*. [Khitan] is presumably an allograph of [Khitan] ‹bú›. See 2.176.
2.273 [Khitan] ‹un›. A genitive ending following stems with the main vowel [u]: [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹l.iŋ g.uŋ:un› 'of the 令公 *linggong* [lord] '; [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹g.uŋ tz.iú:un› 'of the 公主 **gungzhiu* [princess]'. Used in transcriptions of Chinese loan words, as in [Khitan] ‹w.un› 文 **wun*.

2.274 [Khitan] ‹iá›. Gao Lujia 1991 suggests that [Khitan] is an allograph of [Khitan] ‹ie›. Aisin Gioro suggests it is pronounced the same as [Khitan] ‹ia›.

2.275 [Khitan] Probably an allograph of [Khitan] 277.

2.276 [Khitan] Probably an allograph of [Khitan] 277.

2.277 [Khitan] ‹qudug›. A logogram: 'good fortune, happiness'. Commonly used as a name, transcribed 胡覩古 **hudugu*. This graph always occurs with [Khitan], so [Khitan]. From an examination of the rubbings, it seems [Khitan] is really a single graph, [Khitan], derived from a cursive form of Chinese 福 *fu* 'good fortune, happiness'. See also [Khitan], [Khitan], [Khitan]. [Khitan]. Cf. 2.380.

2.278 [Khitan] Probably an allograph of 277: [Khitan] = [Khitan] = [Khitan].

2.279 [Khitan] ‹po›. The *Liaoshi* glossary lists the word for 'time' as 叵, and notes that 叵 is pronounced 頗 *po*. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives more detail: 瞎里叵, 漢人譯云 :瞎里是請, 叵是時: "the Chinese translate *hiali po* like this: *hiali* means 'to invite', *po* is 'time'." *Research* suggested the reading *po* for [Khitan]. Shen Zhong 80 noted that [Khitan] [Khitan] means 'four seasons 四時'. [Khitan] is often followed by [Khitan] ‹do›: [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹po:do› 'at the time, at that time'.

2.280 [Khitan] ‹áŋ›. occurs in [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹xa.áŋ tai ca.aŋ ś.iú ś.iáŋ›, the transcription of 行台尚书省 **hang tai shang shiu shieng*'. This suggests which suggests [Khitan] must be similar to [Khitan]‹aŋ›.

2.281 [Khitan]

2.282 [Khitan] ‹fẻi›. Mnemonic from 非.

2.283 [Khitan] ‹k›. [Khitan] appears in: [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› 開府儀同三司 **kaifu ngitung samsï;* [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹k.ai g.ui

b.ah› 開國 伯 *kaigueibai* 開國伯; also written 乂丰 几火 丹乐 ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah›, 叔企 雨仝 ‹k.em sȯ.or› 'he heard [received] the imperial edict 敕'; 叔企 令勺 ‹k.em te.gu› 'the edict says 敕曰'.

2.284 丄. This graph always appears together with 九 ‹zů› in the word 丄九. Gao 2: 兮 业丰廿冇 叉为夬 丄九 尺关 火 圡几㐄几 丙圥及火 几及久 冈为本 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí 丄九 DAY.i ui RECORD.gi.le.gi; ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar›. 兮 业丰廿冇 叉为夬 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí› means 印牌司郎君 'court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies'. 圡几㐄几 ‹RECORD.gi.le.gi› 'cause to be recorded'. 丙圥及火 几及久 ‹ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh› is the name of the compiler of the inscription, 耶律固 Yelü Gu. 冈为本 means 'composed'; the pronunciation of 冈 308 is unknown. 尺关 means 'of the day' and 火 ‹ui› is 'affairs, matters'. On the basis of other inscriptions, one would presume that 丄九 尺关 火 圡几㐄几 means 'according to the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注 *qijuzhu*'. So 丄九 must refer to the emperor, the throne, or affairs of state. 丄 may derive from 上 *shang* 'above', one of the words which referred to the emperor. 丄九 often has one or more spaces in front of it.

2.285 山 'yellow, gold'. See 4.59.

2.286 山. A form of 山 used with masculine nouns. 山 列北 ‹GOLD♂ hu.ho› 'golden bird 金鳥'.

2.287 少

2.288 中 ‹bun› The title in Daozong inscription includes the term 'great, filial' written 又反 本关禾公丹叉 ‹m.o ci.i.is.de.b.ún›. In the text of the inscription, the same term is written 又反 本关禾公中 ‹m.o ci.i.is.de.bun›. In the revised lines of the Daozong inscription, 国㐄丹叉 ‹hó.le.b.ún› is written 国㐄中 ‹hó.le.bun› and 兮㐄丹叉 ‹doro.le.b.ún› is written 兮㐄中 ‹doro.le.bun›. So 丹叉 ‹b.un› = 中 = ‹bun›.

2.289 炏 ‹iú›. Distinguished from 丙 ‹iu› and 岁 ‹io›. 炏 appears in the following Chinese words: 乂炏 ‹x.iú› 許 **hiu;* 叉炏 ‹ś.iú› 書 **shiu;* 叉炏 ‹ś.iú› 署 **shiu;* 发炏 ‹ŋ.iú› 御 **ŋiu;* 亥炏 ‹dz.iú› 主 **zhiu.* It is used in Kitan words as a dative-locative suffix following stems in [a].

2.290 出 ‹án›. *Research* concluded that the main vowel in 出 was [u]. It resembles the Chinese character 出 *chu*, so *Research* suggested it might be read *tʃu*. It later became clear that the main vowel was not [u], but more

likely [a]. In Zhong 38, 本廾平圡当 ‹ar.u.ul.ha.én› was changed to 本廾平圡出 ‹ar.u.ul.ha.án›, suggesting 当 and 出 must have been close, morphologically and/or phonetically. Both of them were used in verbal inflections, and could modify nouns. They could both be followed by case endings, e.g. 主 丞 介火 伌当 关 'the day on which the empress dowager was born', 乇 丕 关夫 伌当 'born on the eighteenth day'. 出 often follows 圡 ‹ha›, and 当 mostly follows 厺 ‹ge›. Chinggeltei has now come to the conclusion that 出 is *an* and 当 is *en*. They are transcribed here 出 ‹án› and 当 ‹én› to distinguish them from the genitive endings 关 ‹an› and 村 ‹en›.

2.291 朩

2.292 芗. 芗 appears in the phrase 芗亥 叉圡卡 不为出 ‹292.u ś.eu.kả on.a.án› 'sweet dew descended' 甘露降 [on the day the coffin was interred]. Whether or not it is a logogram meaning 'sweet' is not known, but [u] seems to be a nominal/adjectival suffix.

2.293 类

2.294 小 ‹SOUTH›/‹TRIBE› ‹siỏ›. Mnemonic from 小. Liu Fengzhu 1993 suggested that 小 means 'tribe' or 'division 部'. Ji Shi suggested 小 is a logograph, ‹SOUTH›. So 小 亥化 ‹SOUTH u.ur› meant 'the southern administration 院'. Toyoda concluded that 大 is 'east', 十 'west', 小 'south' and 亠 'north'. 小 十 ‹SOUTH WEST› 南西=西南; 小 亥化 仐丞为 ‹SOUTH u.ur l.êm.a› '*linya* of the southern administration 南院林牙'. In many cases, however, 小 is better understood in the meaning of 'tribe, division'. Perhaps one graph was used for two separate but homophonous words.

2.295 业 ‹p›. 业 appears in the following words: 业同 ‹p.iŋ› 平 **ping;* 业关 ‹p.i› 妃 **fuei* (?)*,* 业当 ‹p.oŋ› 奉 **fung.* 业同 犭气 攴同兆 ‹p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh› **pingzhang zhing shï* 平章政事; 发犮公 业关丙 ‹ŋ.y.n p.i.in› Yuan Fei 'principal consort 元妃 (genitive); 业同 仐为不 九火 杢村 ‹p.iŋ l.a.on g.uŋ c.en› **pinglon gungchen* 'meritiorious official suppressing disorder 平亂功臣'; 业及 ‹po.o› '*shen*, cyclical sign, monkey, 申'; 业及及 ‹p.o.o› *id.*; 业币关 ‹p.od.i› 'return'; 业币仐叉 ‹p.od.l.ún› 'returned' 业币仐圡亐叉 ‹p.od.le.ha.al.ún› (causative) 'sent back'; 业平夂 秂 艾 ‹p.ul.uh NINE MONTH› 'intercalary ninth month 閏九月' 业亥亥 叉火 廿 ‹p.u.u ś.iú ss› 'office of the administrator 部署司'.

2.296 岁

2.297 ‹pú›. In Xuanyi, ‹pú.u ku› corresponds to 僕 *pu* ‘servant’. ‹ku› is ‘man’.

2.298 ‹co›. Wang Hongli 1984 noticed that ‹co.on dû.u› is perhaps a transcription of 攢涂殿 *Cuantu Dian,* cf. *Liaoshi* 50: 喪葬儀，聖宗崩, 興宗哭臨于攢涂殿 ‘during the burial ceremonies after Shengzong died, Xingzong approached the Cuantu Hall and wept’. In Xing 2 the same word is written ‹co.on tu›. 攢 *cuan* means ‘to keep a coffin in a temporary shelter until burial’.

2.299

2.300 ‹EIGHTY›. See also 301. Xu 38: … ‹eu.úr EIGHTY tu.úr.bun› ‘he died at the age of eighty’. Wotela, the subject of the inscription, was appointed court attendant at the beginning of the Xianyong period, and died in the fifth year of the Qiantong period, a period of 40 years. If he was 40 on his appointment he would be 80 at the time of his death. Ji Shi 1996 thinks that is a mistake for . ‹EIGHTY bả:en c.ie.ên› seems to be related to a passage in the *Liaoshi* biography of Renxian: 塔里干復來寇, 仁先逆擊, 追殺八十餘里 ‘Taligan returned to plunder, Renxian counterattacked him; he pursued him, killing, for more than 80 *li*.’

2.301 This seems to be a mistranscription of 300.

2.302 ‹il›. The name ‹t.il.uh.iń› is probably a form of the common name 迪烈 ~ 敵烈 Dilie. is similar in shape to 310. It also occurs in the word ‹yỉ.il.iń›, which is common but not identified. It may be 迤邏免 *yilimian*, also written 迤邐免 *yilimian* (princess consort, wife of a prince).

2.303 ‹iŋ›. is only found in Chinese words. ‹iŋ› 應 **ying* ‹p.iŋ› 兵; ‹bi.iŋ› 平 **ping;* ‹g.iŋ› 景 , 經 **ging*.

2.304 ‹gỏ›. ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.gỏ› in Daozong 6 corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* ‘throne of eternal happiness’. ‹hu.o.gỏ› must mean ‘throne’ or something similar.

2.305 ‹rỏ›. Mnemonic from 肉.

2.306

2.307

2.308 ‹COMPOSE›. ‹COMPOSE.i› ‘to compose [the text of an inscription], 撰’.

2.309. ‹hó›. ‹hó.le.bo.ń› is part of the reign title 皇統 Huangtong. ‹c.ur.er jau.qó.ui hó.le.bo.ń aú.ui› ‘the second was the royal lady Oliben 訛里本娘子’. Cf *Liaoshi* 100, *Biography of Xiao Chouwo,* which gives her second name as 訛里本娘子 . Presumably Chouwo is a transcription of ‹jau.qó.ui›, the meaning of which is not known. It may be part of her name. or is often translated 皇族 *huangzu* ‘imperial clan’.

2.310 A similar graph is 302.

2.311 ‹b› ~ ‹bo›. ‹b.ah› 伯 **bai* ; ‹b.iau› 驃 **biau*; ‹b.u› 保 **bau* ‹b.û› 部 **bu.* ‹b.oh c.eu fu.oŋ ŋ.iú sh.ï› 博州防禦使 **bozheu fong ngushï;* ‘defense commissioner of Bozhou’. ‹oh› could be [oʔ]. ‹bo.qo› ‘child’; ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘eldest child’; ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson’; ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children, sons’; ‹mó:t bo.hu.án› ‘daughters’; ‹b.as› ‘again’; ‹b.y.z.iú› a Kitan title transcribed 別胥 *biexu*; ‹bo.ra.ia.án› ~ ‹bo.ra.a.án› ‘right side’.

2.312 ‹tůmu›. Ji Shi 1996 noted that a name in the Kitan version of Renxian, ‹tůmu.úr t.úŋ.a›, may correspond to a name in the Chinese inscription, 圖木里同刮 **tumulituŋgua*. This strongly suggests that is [tůmu]. In Renxian 49, corresponds to 兩萬 ‘twenty thousand’, suggesting that means ‘ten thousand’. In Renxian 11 we read ‹TEN TEN-THOUSAND û.ji:en› ‘gave a hundred thousand’. This refers to the Song increasing the amount of silver and silk to a hundred thousand taels to compensate for the land taxes of the ten Chinese counties in Liao territory.

2.313 ‹ló›. appears in ‘seventh’, which is presumed to be read ‹dau.ló.er›, so could be ‹ló›.

2.314 ‹iaŋ›. ś.iaŋ 相 **siang;* z.iaŋ ~ s.iaŋ 將 **ziang;* ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün›上將軍 **shangzianggün.* 將軍 ‘general’ is written both ‹s.iaŋ g.ün› and ‹s.iáŋ g.ün›.

九亦 ‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› 金吾衛上將軍 *gim'nguwei shangzianggün*; 个凧 北 尜 叐気 令㕛 九亦 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün› 龍虎衛上將軍 *liunghuwei shangzianggün* 'senior general of the dragon and tiger guards'.

2.315 尗 ‹iåŋ›. Possibly an allograph of 314. 大120 may be a cursive form.

2.316 目 ‹můh›. Mnemonic from 目.

2.317 月 ‹TEXT›. Used in the expression 月伞 令勺 ‹TEXT.ú te.gu›, which introduces rhymed sections in the inscriptions.

2.318 罗

2.319 冊 ‹go›. 冊 appears in Gu in 冊公 吊兆 ‹go.n ca sh› 觀察使 *gonchashï* 'investigative official'. 冊籴 ‹go.er› is a Kitan word translated 帳 or 帳房 'tent'. It refers to a tribal unit, and by extension, a family, a lineage.

2.320 由 ‹yỏ›. Mnemonic from 由.

2.321 由 ‹yô›. Mnemonic from 由. Most commonly found in the words 由及 ‹yô.u› and 由炏 ‹yô.iú›, the cyclical terms 壬 and 癸 correspond to the colour black. Ji Shi 1996 quoted a passage from the *Mengqi bitan*: 昔人文章用北 狄事多言黑山. 黑山在大漠之北, 今謂之姚家族 …姚義為黑, 家族之義是山 "when discussing the northern barbarians, works of previous scholars often refer to 'Black Mountain'. Black Mountain is to the north of the great desert. Now it is called 姚家族 Yaojiazu … 姚 *yau* means 'black', 家族 *giazu* means 'mountain'." On the basis of this, Ji Shi suggested **yo* for 由.

2.322 内 ‹ón›

2.323 口 ‹qi›. In Langjun 口 非 corresponds to 該時 'that time'. Cf. 口 非 口 丈 口 尺 口 非朱 (Zhonggong) 'that year that month that day that time (locative). In Zhong, 'that' is also written 口列 ‹qi.hu›; this is also found elsewhere. 口 伞杏 ‹qi s.uni› 'that night'. 口 also appears in the word for the Xi 奚, an ethnic group apparently related to the Kitans, written 口北伏 ‹qi.ii.ń›. This word appears many times in the inscriptions.

2.324 虫 ‹iên›. Transcribes Chinese words with final [üɛn]: 关芡虫 ‹ŋ.y.iên› 元 **ŋüen;* 伞芡虫 关关 穴夯 丙 ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mo› 宣懿皇后 'empress

Xuanyi' 仐犮㞢 乂火 兆谷 ‹s.y.iên x.ui sh.ï› 宣徽使 'master of court ceremonies'; 劣犮㞢 叉仧 兮‹ŋ.y.iên ś.ô pu› 元帥府 *nguanshuai fu*.
2.325 屯 ‹dėn›. Mnemonic from 电.

2.326 文 ‹iė›.

2.327 交 ‹ie›. In transcriptions of Chinese, 交 indicates medial -i-: 仐交㞢 ‹s.ie.iên› 宣**süan;* 仐交方 ‹s.ie.ên› 前 **cien;* 𠆢交方 ‹d.ie.ên› 殿 **dien;* 仐交方 丙丙夋 今交方 ‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên› 仙游殿 'Hall of the Wandering Immortals'; 𠆢交方 仐交方 仃 𠆢圣 几交圣 ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› 殿前都點檢 **dien cien du diem giem* 'chief inspector of the palace command'. At the end of a syllable transcribes Ch. *ie*: 伞交 ‹z.ie› = 節 in 伞交 仃 兆 ‹z.ie du sh› 節度使 **ziedushï* 'military commissioner'. In Kitan words 交 appears with the following graphs: 车 ‹ra› 才 ‹ia› 丰 ‹ai› 为 ‹a› and 圡 ‹ha›, which suggests its main vowel was [a].

2.328 主 ‹hoŋ›. In 主 王 ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor'.

2.329亦 ‹ün›. In Chinese words 亦 corresponds to [ün] in Modern Mandarin, but it is not clear if [u] > [ü] / [i] in Liao Chinese. 几亦 ‹g.ün› **gün* 軍 'army'.

2.330 戈 ‹ź›. Derived from 叉 ‹ś¾WRLQGLFDWH>å@戈雨 关关 主 介 ‹ź.in i.i hoŋ heu› 仁懿皇后 'empress Renyi'; 戈雨 仐当 ‹ź.in s.úŋ› 仁宗 'emperor Renzong'.

2.331 穴 ‹neu›. In Xuanyi 仐犮㞢 关关 穴夯 丙 ‹s.ie.iên i.i. neu.e mó› corresponds to 宣懿皇后 'empress Xuanyi', so clearly 穴夯 丙 means 'empress'. The *Liaoshi* provides us with a number of Kitan words for 'empress': 皇后 **hongheu;* 忒里蹇 **teiligien,* 可敦 **kodun* and 耨斡麼(么) **neu-o-mo*. 皇后 is common in the inscriptions; it is written 主 介 ‹hoŋ heu›. 夯 is ‹e›, so it seems likely that 穴夯 丙 ‹neu.e mo› must correspond to 耨斡麼(么) *neu-e-mo*. In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read: 耨斡, 后土稱. 麼(么), 母稱: '*neu-o*, the name of *houtu* 'empress of the earth'; 麼(么) means 母 'mother'. Cf. *Liaoshi* 71: 遼因突厥, 稱皇后曰可敦. 國語曰忒里蹇. 尊稱曰耨斡麼么,蓋以配后土而母之云 "The Liao, following the Tujue, called the empress *kedun*. In their national language they say **teiligien*. The respectful term is *nou-o-mo*. It is said that *houtu* 'the female earth deity' is the same as *mu* 'mother'."

2.332 [Kitan] ‹nai›. ‘first, head, official’. [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹nai såyir?› is ‘the first month of the lunar year 正月’. In the *Liaoshi* glossary we read 捏褐耐, 犬首也: **nieho nai* means ‘head of a dog’. The *Liaoshi* also tells us that 捏褐 **nieho* means ‘dog’ and 耐 *nai* means ‘head’, so [Kitan] should be pronounced *nai*. [Kitan] is common in the sense of ‘official, leader’. The plural form is [Kitan] ‹nai:d› and the genitive [Kitan] ‹nai:en›.

2.333 [Kitan] Possibly *qåtun*. Ji Shi sought to identify the word [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹qåtun ún.n› in *Renyi* 5 as 腻俚蹇 **teligian,* one of the words for ‘queen, empress’ recorded in the *Liaoshi*. Liu Fengzhu agreed that [Kitan] [Kitan] corresponded to ‘empress’, but this was neither of the two known words for empress, ‹hoŋ heu› and ‹neu.mo›. He suggested [Kitan] might have been *qatun.* Wang Hongli 86 noticed that [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹s.iau hur.ú qåtun› in *Zhong* 14 referred to a Tangut tribal leader 小斛祿 ‘Xiaohulu’. Xuan 12 has the plural form with suffix [Kitan] ‹d›: [Kitan] ‹då qatun:d› ‘several queens’.

2.334 [Kitan] ‹g›. Found in the following Chinese words: [Kitan] ‹g.oŋ› 光 **gong* (note lack of medial *-u-* in this final in Liao Chinese) [Kitan] ‹g.uŋ›, **gung* ‘duke’公; [Kitan] ‹g.iu.uŋ› 宮 **giung* ‘palace’ (note medial *-i-* in this final in Liao Chinese); [Kitan] ‹g.iŋ› **ging* ‘capital 京’, [Kitan] ‹g.aŋ› **gang* (one would expect **giang*) ‘river 江’; [Kitan] ‹gi.m› 金 **gim* ‘metal, gold’; [Kitan] ‹g.ün› ‘army 軍’ **gün* 郡 **gün* ‘prefecture’ [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› ~ [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.uŋ c.iú› **gungzhiu* ‘princess 公主’; [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.en.ún TEXT.ú› 哀銘 ‘obituary, eulogy, funerary inscription’; [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.en.ún g.en.ún e› 哀哀 ‘sad, sad’, also written [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.en.ún g.en.ún e› ‘how said it it’ ([Kitan] indicates repetition of a word); [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.u tau.lí.a› 玉兔 ‘jade hare’.

2.335 [Kitan] ‹ia›. [Kitan] appears in [Kitan] ‹g.ia.am› 監 **giem;* [Kitan] g.ia.êm 監 **giem*; [Kitan] ‹ha.ia› 夏 **hia;* [Kitan] ‹g.ia› 家 **gia;* [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹oŋ g.ia n.u› Wang Jianu (personal name)王家奴; [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹c.en g.ia n.u› 陳家奴 Chen Jianu (personal name); [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹xa.ia g.úr› 夏國 ‘the Xia state; the Xixia or Tangut state’; [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ia ai› 伯父 *bó fù* ‘uncle’ (father’s elder brother). Liu Fengzhu interpreted [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹t.úŋ.a ci.ci ia deu› 同瓦及兩兄弟 ‘Tuŋua and others, his elder brother and his younger brother’. If this is so, the common word [Kitan] ‹ci ci› must mean ‘together with, and others, et cetera’.

2.336 [Kitan]. Perhaps a cursive form of [Kitan]. Another suggestion is that it means ‘good’.

2.337 [Kitan] ‹ji›. An allograph of [Kitan] 152 and [Kitan] 153.

2.338 洎 ‹i’i› A rare graph, found only in the personal name 戈雨 洎 主 介 ‹ź.in i’i hoŋ heu› ‘empress Renyi’. This name is also written 戈雨 关关 主 介 ‹ź.in i.i hoŋ heu›, from which it can be seen 洎 ‹i’i› = 关关 ‹i.i›.

2.339 关 ‹i›. 尖关 ‹ŋ.i› 儀 **ŋi;* 关关 ‹i.i.› 懿 **yi;* 爻关 ‹x.i› 期 **ki;* 业关 ‹p.i› 妃 **fuei;* 令关 ‹s.i› 西 **si;* 伞关 ‹z.i› 祭 **zi;* 尜关 ‹ui.i› 尉 **wei;* 叉关 ‹m.i› 密 **mi;* 叉关同 ‹ś.i.iŋ› 聖 **shieng,* 丞 叉关 ‹tai ś.i› 太師 **taishï* (*not* 丞 兆 tai sh); 叉叉关 ‹śi.m.i› 審密 ‘Shenmi (name of clan)’; 卉关 ‹tir.i› 鉄離 Tieli (personal name); 舟为关 舟为 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson’; 关化 ‹i.ri› name; 关化令尜 ‹i.ri.s.er› ‘name’ (plural accusative).

2.340 爻 ‹x›. Transcribes Chinese [x] and [kh]: 爻关同 ‹x.i.iŋ› 興 **hing*; 爻太 ‹x.uŋ› 空 **kung;* 爻关 ‹x.i› 期 **ki;* 爻平 ‹x.ai› 開 **kai;* 爻尜 ‹x.ui› 徽 **hui;* 爻余 ‹x.ah› 客 *kei(?)*; 爻炏 ‹x.iú› 許 **hiu;* 叉去 廿 爻太 ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› 守司空 **sheusïkung;* 爻平 九火 舟余 ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah› 開國伯 **kaigueibai;* 去 同 爻关 ‹oŋ iŋ xi› 黄應期 **ong ingki* ‘Huang Yingqi (name)’; 爻尼叉 曲尜 ‹xe.dú.ún go.er› ‘horizontal tents 横帳’.

2.341 尜 ‹er›. This graph is very common in both verbal and nominal suffixes. Its pronunciation is hard to determine, as it does not appear in Chinese words. Chinggeltei 1992 notes that 尜 may have a similar morphological function to 本 ‹ar›, a perfective suffix. The main vowel in 本 is [a], so in 尜 it may be [e]. Ji Shi 1988 equated 令生万尜 丞 去 ‹te.bu.ei.er tai oŋ› with 撻不也大王 ‘great prince Tabuye’. Aisin Gioro 2004 writes ‹ar› for 本, and ‹er› for 尜. In a recent unpublished article, Chinggeltei has also made a convincing case for 本 and 尜 being ‹ar› and ‹er›. As a verbal suffix, it indicates a past tense. As a nominal suffix, it indicates the accusative, and perhaps the instrumental.

2.342 亩 Cf. 亩舟 圣本 ‹342.bo êm.ci› corresponds to ‘to drink one’s fill’ (Langjun). It could possibly mean ‘wine’ and possibly be derived from 酒.

2.343 亩

2.344 火 ‹ud›. Gao Lujia 1988 noted that clan name 耶律 Yelü corresponded in the texts to 万乍负火 ‹ei.ra.u.ud›. 火 is a plural marker. Liu Fengzhu 95, Ji Shi 94 noticed that 芀尖火 ‹cu.úŋ.ud› corresponds to the name 崇古德 **chunggudei’,* confirming 火 as ‹ud›. 大化 九同 ‹ud.ur g.iŋ› ~ ‹dú.ur g.iŋ› ‘eastern capital’.

2.345 [Kitan] ‹uŋ›. [Kitan] , [Kitan] and [Kitan] ‹uŋ› are allographs. [Kitan] ‹ju.uŋ› 中 **zhung;* [Kitan] ‹tu.uŋ› 同 **tung;* [Kitan] ‹g.uŋ› 公 **gung,* 功 **gung;* [Kitan] ‹g.iu.uŋ› 宮 **gung*. [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ› ‘the Changninggong palace 長寧宮’; [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› 守司空; [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹du tu.uŋ› **dutung* 都統; [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹s.iáŋ g.uŋ› *sianggung* 相公.

2.346 [Kitan] ‹uŋ›. An allograph of 2.345.

2.347 [Kitan] ‹ói›. An allograph of [Kitan] 2.107. Cf. [Kitan] ‹er› 2.341.

2.348 [Kitan] ‹e›. An allograph of [Kitan] ‹e› 2.109. [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹û e› ‘*yu yue* 于越’ and [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹y.e g.ui oŋ› ‘Yueguowang 越 國王 prince of the state of Yue’; [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹neu.e mó› ‘empress’.

2.349 [Kitan] ‹ge›. An allograph of [Kitan] 2.112.

2.350 [Kitan]. An allograph of [Kitan] 110 or [Kitan] ‹d›. Cf. Zhong 23: [Kitan] ‘Tiande’ [a reign title] is usually written [Kitan] ‹d.iu.rẻn›.

2.351 [Kitan]

2.352 [Kitan] ‹î›. This is rare. It is found in [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹w.u g.î ui.i› for 武騎衛 **wugiwei.* An allograph is [Kitan] 114.

2.353 [Kitan] ‹ï›. Allograph of [Kitan]. Used to transcribe Chinese retracted [ï]: [Kitan] ‹z.ï› 紫 **zï* ; [Kitan] ‹z.ï› 子 **zï* ; [Kitan] ‹sh.ï› 使 **shï* ‘messenger, ambassador’; [Kitan] ‹sh.ï› 侍 **shï* ‘attendant’; [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› 國子祭酒 **guizï ziziu.*

2.354 [Kitan] ‹dź›. Possibly an allograph of [Kitan] ‹dz› 2.104. [Kitan] [Kitan] appears in an inscription on a mirror, where it seems to mean ‘four seasons 四時’.

2.355 [Kitan] ‹ordu›. Ch. 斡魯朵. Liu Fengzhu 1984 noticed that in Dilie the word for the 大安 Da’an reign period, normally written [Kitan] ‹ú.dû.ó.o.ón› was written [Kitan] ‹ordu.ó.o.ón›. The 重熙 Chongxi reign period, generally written [Kitan] ‹ú.dû.l.ha.a.ar›, was written [Kitan] ‹ordu.le.ha.ar›. This suggests [Kitan] ‹ordo› = [Kitan] ‹ú.dû›. Other forms are: [Kitan] ‹ordo.u› [Kitan] ‹ordu.ú› [Kitan] ‹o.ordu.u› [Kitan] ‹o.ordu.ú›. In Yongning 41 we find [Kitan] by itself: [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹p.úr.u.ul p.úr.u.ul m.o ordu› ‘… great *ordu*’ (the meaning of [Kitan] ‹p.úr.u.ul› is unknown). [Kitan] ‹ordu› often has inflected or varied forms: (1) [Kitan] ‹ordu.u›, [Kitan] ‹ordu.u.ur›,

米叐尼 ‹ordu.u:dú›, (2) 米仐 ‹ordu.ú›, 米仐化 ‹ordu.ú.ur› (3) 及米叐化 ‹o.ordu.u.ur›, 及米叐尼 ‹o.ordu.u.dú›, 及米叐 ‹o.ordu.u› 及米叐火 ‹o.ordu.u:un› (4) 及米仐化 ‹o.ordu.ú.ur›. Cf. 米叐化 亜仐 ‹ordu.u.ur hur.ú› ‘officer in charge of the *ordu*’.

2.356 尘. cẻn. Mnemonic from 尘 .

2.357 当 ‹úŋ›. 伞当 ‹z.úŋ› ~ 仐当 ‹s.úŋ› 宗 **zung* ; 业当 ‹p.úŋ› **fung* 奉; 叉发 仐当 ‹śi.ŋ s.úŋ› ‘Shengzong 聖宗’; 丕 伞当 ‹tai z.úŋ› ‘Taizong 太宗’.

2.358 伞 ‹mû›. 关 今火 九亦 丰仐忝 犾気 叉雨 忩火 伞 丙文冇 乂同 包 九丙尗 化冇 仐 九丙尗 死 刃丙比 业及仝 ‹HEAVEN t.ud yủ.úr ai.se.er, ja.aŋ m.in d.un mû ei.ie:en x.iŋ THREE g.iu.uŋ ur:en fu g.iu.uŋ sh rẻn.ei.ii p.o.or› as ‘in the first year of the Xianyong reign period, he was promoted to the position of deputy palace commander of the Zhangmin, Dunmu and Yanqing palaces’. Shi and Yu 2001. The only palace in the Liao period which had a name of which the first word was *dun* was the 敦睦宮 Dunmu Palace. Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:513.

2.359 尘

2.360 羔 ‹poŋ›. A compound character, made from 业 ‹p› and 杰 ‹oŋ›. Langjun: 朩気 叉火 友 羔 少気 子尗 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› **shangshiu zhïfang langzhung* 尚書職方郎 中’.

2.361 当 ‹én›. 与 is an allograph. In verbal suffixes 当 ‹én› corresponds to 出 ‹án›.

2.362 号 ‹io›. Perhaps 号 125 ‹ió› is an allograph. 尃号 ‹b.iau› 驃 **biau;* 叉号 ‹m.iau› 廟 **miau;* 仐号 ‹s.iau› 小 **siau,* 叉号叐 ‹ś.iau.u› 少 **shau;* 少号叐 ‹l.iau.u› 略 **liau.* 少号夫 ~ 少号余 ‹l.iau.qú› ~ ‹l.iau.qu› ‘*bing, ding:* third and fourth of the ten stems 丙丁’.

2.363 肖

2.364 ∵ This graph only appears once in the corpus. It is probably based on an eroded or unclear inscription.

2.365 买 ‹qid›. See 3.170.

九火 杰 买叉关 叉 仐分廾及内 灰 汞 叉化 丰 无 丈 包 尺矢 佃忩

‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún.i GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón SIX WHITE mo.ri ai tau saỉr THREE DAY.de BORN:er›
‘The king was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth year, white horse year in the Kitan reign period Da’an’.
‹qid.ún:i g.úr:en us.gi:de›
‘In the writing of the Kitan State’.

2.366 ‹ul›. ‹l› appears with unrounded vowels, ‹ul› with rounded vowels: ‹l›: ‹t.em.le.gi›, ‹s.ún.le.gi.ge.le.gi›, ‹x.ui.ri.ge.le.g.én›. ‹ul›: ‹eu.ul.gi›, ‹eu.ul.g.en› ‹eu.ul.ge.en›, ‹eu.ul.ge.ei›, ‹eu.ul.ge.ún›, ‹eu.ul.ge.er›, ‹eu.ul.ge.ii›, ‹ra.l.u.ul.ha.ai›, ‹ra.l.u.ul.ha.a.al›. Cf. ‹u.ul› ‘winter’, Mo. *ebül*, Da. *ugul*.

2.367 ‹źuŋ›. Xu 2: □□ □□‹ŋ.in s.iŋ źuŋ □□□›. ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ› is 銀青 **ngincing* in the official title 銀青榮祿.*yinqing ronglu*. corresponds to 榮 and the last three spaces would be a transcription of 祿 **lu*. In Xu 50 we have the name ‹źuŋ ś.eu.u›. Xuwang had six sons: 彭壽 Pengshou, 長壽 Changshou, 福壽 Fushou, 德壽 Deshou, 榮壽 Rongshou and 慶壽 Qingshou. 榮壽 Rongshou must be ‹źuŋ ś.eu.u›. Chinggeltei and others write *åXŋ* or variants for , but the development of initial *r* in the Mandarin second tone in such words is a later development. In Liao Chinese, 榮 was presumably read **iung*. is derived from 榮/荣 **yung* as is derived from 永.

2.368 ‹FOUR›. Possibly [dur]. The word for ‘fourth’ is spelled out ‹d.ur.er›. ‹FOUR:de› is the locative form. Note also ‹FOUR po.dź› ‘the four seasons 四時’.

2.369 An allograph of , used with masculine nouns.

2.370

2.371 ‹REGION› This graph seems to mean ‘border, border area’.

2.372 ‹û›. Examples: ‹xu.û› 護 **hu*, ‹d.û› 度 **du;* ‹ś.û› 蜀 **shiu;* ‹b.û› 部 **bu.* Its usage is similar to ‹ú›; vowel harmony would suggest that in Kitan it is a front vowel. In Chinese words it seems to have the same value as ‹ó› and ‹u›. 部 **bu* is written ‹b.û›, ‹pu.ó›, ‹p.u› or ‹p.u.u›. In Kitan words we can also see ‹û› and

‹u› exchange, as in the stem ‘to marry [of a woman] 嫁’, which is written ‹û.ul.ge› or ‹u.ul.ge. is the stem of ‘to give’, cf. Mo. *ög-* . ‹û› is also found in ‹û e›, *yuyue* 于越, a title also used by the Uighurs and possibly derived from Tu. *ögüt* ‘counsel’. Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:432. ‹û›, ‹ú› and ‹iú› all transcribe Chinese [u]. ‹l.i b.û sh.ï l.aŋ›; ‹HEAVEN ńi.l.û.er› ‘reign title: Kaitai 開泰’ ‹û.ui› ‘give 給與’; ‹û.ul.ge.al› ‘to marry (of a woman) 嫁’; also ‹û.ul.ge.al›; ‹û.ul.ge.l.iń›; ‹û.ul.ge.ei› (suffixed forms of ‘marry’).

2.373 ‹GREAT›. ‹GREAT GOLD gúr:en› ‘The Great Jin Dynasty 大金國’ (genitive) (Langjun); ‹GREAT d.iu.rẻn› reign title: Dakang 大康 ‘Great Prosperity’; ‹GREAT ú.dû.u.o.ón›: reign title: Da’an 大安 ‘Great Peace’; ‹GREAT g.en.ún› ‘great sadness’; ‹GREAT doro.a.án›: reign title: Dading 大定 ‘Great Settlement’; ‹GREAT zů.ge.er›: reign title: Tianfu 天輔 ‘Heavenly Assistance’. Note here corresponds to 天 ‘heaven’ not 大 ‘great’. ‹GREAT s.en›: reign title Changshou 長壽 ‘Great Longevity’; ‹GREAT ei.ie.ra.u›: reign title: Taiping 太平 ‘Great Peace’.

2.374 ‹tai› ‹tai ui› 太尉 **taiwei* ‘defender in chief’; ‹tai oŋ› 大王 ‘great prince’; ‹tai.bo› *‘tai bao* 太保 grand protector’; ‹tai ś.iŋ› ‘great sage 大聖’; ‹tai z.ú› **Taizu* 太祖: Taizu, name of emperor’; ‹tai hoŋ tai heu› 太皇太后 ; ‹tai sh›太師 ‘grand preceptor’; ‹tai ś.i› *taishi* is a more assimilated form of 太師 than ‹tai sh›; ‹tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iáŋ sh› 太傅領三省事 *tai fu ling san sheng shi* ‘grand mentor and concurrent controller of the three departments’.

2.375 ‹ca›. ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ pu sh› 長寧宮副使 *chang ning gong fu shi* ‘official title’; ‹go.n ca sh› 觀察使 **gonchashï* ‘investigative official’; ‹ca.aŋ ś.eu.u› 長壽 *chang shou* ‘long life, longevity’. Note ‹ca.aŋ› 尚 *shang *shang.*

2.376

2.377 ‹oh›. ‹b.oh c.eu:un pu.oŋ ŋ.iu sh.ï› 博州防御使 *Bozhou fangyushi* ‘defence commissioner of the Bozhou district’. Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 noted that according to the geography section of the *Jinshi*, the only *zhou* during the Jin period which had officials with the title 防御使 *fangyushi* and which began with ‹bo› was 博州 Bozhou . It

is not known why and not one of the many other graphs for o/u was used in this word, unless it reflects the final stop in MC. *pak*. MC [a] > [ɔ] by this stage.

2.378 ∶ Indicates repetition.

2.379 丈 ‹TENT›.This graph is very similar to 犮, and in *Research* was not distinguished from it. Ji Shi pointed out that 丈 and 犮 were quite different graphs. In the Xuwang inscription. 州欠 丈 冇 ‹zǒ.qó TENT:en› is preceded by a modifier, 九交冇 力圡出仌 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er› 'maternal uncles 國舅'; 九交冇 力圡出仌 州欠 丈 冇 ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zǒ.ó TENT:en› 國舅小翁帳 *guojiu xiaowengzhang* correponds to 'the younger (junior) branch of the (imperial) maternal uncles'.

2.380 [才糸] ‹qudug›. Liu, Chinggeltei, Aisin Gioro and others identify 才糸 with 胡覩古 *hudugu* 'happiness, good fortune'. An examination of the inscriptions, however, suggests that 才糸 is in fact one graph: [才糸] .

CHAPTER THREE

ENGLISH-KITAN GLOSSARY

> Le k'i-tan auquel remonte la glose **qašu* est aujourd'hui une langue pratiquement inconnue. Il est bien vrai que nous ayons deux longues inscriptions de cette langue, découvertes en 1922 par le P. Kervyn, mais elles demeurent indéchiffrées par les textes chinois. Ce matériel n'est pas énorme, mais un dépouillement rapide nous permet de réunir, sans compter les noms propres, près d'une centaine de mots communs ce qui est déja suffisant pour se rendre compte que nous sommes en présence d'une langue mongole. Cette première impression reçoit une confirmation de la part de Rašīdu'-d-Din qui, en parlant des Karakhitaï, fait remarquer que la langue, la figure et les coutumes de ces derniers ont la plus grande conformité avec celles des Mongols. C'est donc à bon escient que Pelliot affirmait que "les K'i-tan parlaient une langue étroitement apparentée au mongol encore que fortement palatalisée"… Pour ma part j'ajouterais que c'était une langue mongole archaïque où l'initiale *h-* des XIIIe – XIVe siècles était représentée par *p-* et qu'elle contenait bon nombre d'éléments étrangers, ignorés du reste du mongol et empruntés au jou-tchen, po-hai, coréen, voire même à des langues sibériennes. Malheureusement la langue k'i-tan s'est éclipsée au contact du mongol proprement dit et il est actuellement malaisé de déceler ses vestiges parmi les dialectes mongols d'aujourd'hui. Néanmoins d'aucuns ont cherché à rapprocher le k'i-tan du dahour, aussi les Dahours modernes se considèrent-ils comme les descendants des K'i-tan…. Je penche moi-même à admettre que le dahour est identique au k'i-tan ou plus exactement, à un de ses dialectes. - Louis Ligeti, "Mots de civilisation de haute Asie en transcription chinoise". *Acta Orientalia Hungarica,* Vol. 1, 1950, pp. 141-185, on pp. 166-167.

3.001 *again, then, after that:* **舟冬** ‹b.as› cf. Mo. *basa*, Ma. *basa*
口列 平 舟冬 列圣用主为方 子太 叉火 朴同 及扎
qi.hu ai b.as hu.jủr.il.ha.a.al ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ o.ho
口列 平 舟冬 为太 九才乃 伞丙 九火 兆 业及子屮
qi.hu ai b.as tu.uŋ g.ia.am s.iu g.ui sh p.o.ju.bun
口列 平文 舟冬 丙余及子 丕 分及 朴同 伞为乃 叉並 兆 友同 杰 业及子屮
qi.hu ai b.as ei.qu.o.ju tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iáŋ sh tz.iŋ oŋ p.u.ju.bun
'That year, he was then made […] *zhongshuling* 中書令 (secretariat director). That year, he was then appointed *tongjian xiuguoshi* 同監修国史 (deputy state historiographer). That year, he was then appointed […] *taifu* 太傅 (grand mentor) *ling sanshengshi* 領三省事 (concurrent director of the three departments), and prince of Zheng.' (Zhong 22-23)

3.002 *ancestor:* [Khitan] ‹u.ur ai› ‘preceding father; ancestor’
[Khitan] ‹u.ur› means ‘first, upper, previous’. [Khitan] ‹u.ur ai› is often written as one word: [Khitan] ‹u.ur.ai›.
[Khitan] ‹u.ur.iń ai:d› ‘ancestors’.
[Khitan]
‹10000 g.úr:se hur.ú qa då mu.u.ji:d u.ur ai›
‘The khan ruling ten thousand states, [descendant] of many sacred ancestors’.
[Khitan] ‹u.ur.ai ki.ên s.ú hoŋ di›
‘His ancestor was emperor Xuanzu’.
[Khitan]
‹u.ur.ai tai s.ú HEAVEN GOLD [nigu] hoŋ di:in deu
‘His ancestor was the younger brother of the emperor of the Shence reign period, Taizu’. (Xu 5)
[Khitan]
‹hoŋ di u.ur.iń ai:d m.o doro:er û.úr.û.ad› (Renxian 4)
‘The emperor presented (gave) a great ceremony to his ancestors’.

3.003 *appoint:* [Khitan] ‹p.o› ‘to be appointed to, to be promoted to 除’, ‘to become 成爲’.

3.004 *army:* [Khitan] ‹cau.úr›. *Liaoshi* 炒伍佴 *chao-wu-er* ‘to fight’ MMo. *ča’ur* ; Ju. *čaur-ha* [Jurchen] *čaur-ši* [Jurchen] ‘troops, army’; Ma. *cooha*. In the Chinese version of the biography of Yelü Renxian, we find several references to various armies 軍, which correspond to the Kitan graphs [Khitan].

3.005 *autumn:*[Khitan] ‹n.am.úr› MMo. *namur*, Mo. *namur*
[Khitan] ‹qi ai n.am.úr› ‘autumn of that year’ (Gao 17).

3.006 *benevolent:* [Khitan] ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› ‘benevolent, benevolence 仁. Also written [Khitan] ‹hur.ó.ur.bun›. [Khitan] ‹hur.ú› means ‘to control’ and may perhaps mean ‘controlling, commanding’ and seems to have little connection with the meaning of Chinese 仁 *ren* ‘humane, humaneness’.
[Khitan]
‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bo.ń w.un hoŋ di›
‘Benevolent sacred great filial cultured emperor’. The posthumous title of the Daozong emperor 仁聖大孝文皇帝.

3.007 *biexu* 别胥 ‘a title of nobility for a woman; royal lady’: [Khitan] ‹b.y.z.iú› ~ [Khitan] ‹b.y.z.iú›
[Khitan] … [Khitan]

‹l.iu.iń go s.a.am ja.ri.qó mó:t p.ar TWO BIG yỉ.l.iń pu.is.iń …c.ur.én mó ku g.ui g.e p.y.z.iú›
'Liunin Gosam, prime minister, had two wives. The senior wife was the *yilimian* (princess consort) lady… the second was royal lady Guige' (Gao 9)
穴公 丙 几 舟犾伞炎
‹nai:d mó ku b.ý.z.iú› 'officials, wives and royal ladies'. (Xu 54)
丙文方伏 仐内 犭化欠 虫夹为夹 业犾伞炎 圣内 舟力
‹ei.ie.ên.iń s.en ja.r.qó 287.an.a.an p.y.z.iú TWO:en bo.qo› (Yong 14)
'The son of the two people, prime minister *Yenin *Isin and royal lady […]'.

3.008 *big, elder, eldest:* 又及 ‹m.o› 'big, great' (masculine); 又 'big, great' (feminine)

3.009 *black:* 由友 ‹yô.u› ~ 由炎 ‹yô.iú›. The reading of 由 is unknown. See 2.321. Ji Shi suggested **yo.* 由友 represents the cyclical terms 壬 and 癸 and corresponds to the colour black. There does not seem to be any connection between the Mo. and Ma. words for 'black' and 由友.

3.010 *blood:* 朩关禾 ‹c.i.is› 'blood; blood relative, clansman, relative'. Cf. Ju. *seŋgi* 'blood, blood relations'.
伏友犭 朩关禾矢 ‹mu.u.ji c.i.is:de›
'at (with) the associates of the blood relations (immediate family?) of the emperor'. (Zong 6)
朩关禾公币圡朩 公刃交 尽令 丙文乍友 公中朩与
‹c.i.is d.ad.ha.ar n.iû.úr KNOW.t ei.ie.ra.u n.ai.c.én›
'His relationships with his blood relations and his administration of the tribes… were harmonious'.

3.011 *blue:* 仐兴余 ‹s.iau.qu› ~ 仐兴夫 ‹s.iau.qú›. 仐兴余 ‹s.iau.qu› corresponds to 甲 *jia* and 乙 *yi*: first and second of the ten stems. This corresponds to 'wood' in the five elements and 'blue' in the five colours.

3.012 *Book of Documents* (Shujing)*:*
乏炎尼 令勺 又及 关 公金公内 与平公丙 才乍 业及 令丙刃公 朩廾山
‹ś.iú:dú te.gu: m.o HEAVEN n.em.d.en eu.ul.ge.ei ia.ra p.u t.iu.rẻn.er ar.u.l›
The *Book of Documents* says: "Great Heaven has no affection, it helps only the virtuous". (Nu 33) From *The Charge to Zhong of Cai* 書經：蔡仲之命. Translation from Legge. Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.013 *Book of Odes* (Shijing)*:*
兆谷 令勺 冬朩 公中朩公 犭亦 廿 内友 几只火 中 丙

‹sh.ï te.gu as.ar n.ai.c.er giủ.ün ss hor.u ku.û.un ai mó› (Zongjiao 19)
‘The *Book of Poetry* says: “The peaceful and happy lord is the father and mother of his people”. Kitan translation of 豈弟君子, 民之父母 *qi di jun zi, min zhi fu mu* “How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign be the parent of the people?” (Legge). Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.014 *border, place*: **乂朩** ‹xe.ci› possibly *jiang* ‘border area 疆’ or *jing* ‘territory 境’. Cf. Ju. 釆亦 *hečen(i)* Ki. 033 城 *chéng* ‘city, city wall’.
乇 非炎村 屮芍乍 又朩杰村, 丕 乂朩伏 玭□九中
‹FOUR po.dź:en l.iau.ra mo.ci.ge.en, EIGHT xe.ci.ń xu.[ ].193.ai› (Daozong 17)
This phrase cannot be understood, but seems to have the same pattern as the common Chinese expression 四時八方 *si shi ba fang* ‘the four seasons and the eight directions’.

3.015 *born, to be born:* **佣** ‹BORN› See 2. 238.
乇 女 包 夭矢 佣仌
‹FIVE MONTH THREE DAY:de BORN.er› (masculine suffix)
‘He was born on the third day of the fifth month’. (Zhonggong 6)
主 丕 介火 佣当 夭
‹hoŋ tai heu:un BORN:én DAY› (feminine suffix)
‘The day the empress dowager was born’. (Renyi 10)
九尺 朩芬村芬 叉为共 力业出仌 又及 丈 村 圣用伏
‹g.uŋ c.e.en.e ś.a.rí na.ha.án.er m.o TENT.en yỉ.il.iń
仐屮 九尺火 舟为
s.êŋ g.uŋ:un bo.qo
扎屮舟伏 尔火 圣村 又冬欠 舟为 关 仐分业为朩
ho.le.bo.ń aú.ui TWO:en m.as.qó bo.qo HEAVEN ú.dû.ha.a.ar
乇 禾 史 中 圣 女 乇 夭矢 佣仌
TEN WHITE DRAGON YEAR TWO MONTH TEN DAY:de BORN.er›
‘The eldest son of her highness *Holbun, the daughter of the *yilimian* (princess consort) of the great tent of the maternal uncles, and lord *Chene, court attendant, was born on the tenth day of the second month of the year of the white dragon (*gengchen*), the tenth year of the Chongxi period’. (Nu 9)
玊为出 九火雨 孙化佘 佣用叉
‹car.a.án g.ui.ń ja.ri.qó BORN.il.ún›
‘The prime minister 宰相, Chara Guiyin was born’. (Ren 5)
穴 丙公 佣当 夭 曲仌 业 只仌
‹neu mó.n BORN.én DAY go.er qa û:er›
‘On the day of the the empress’ birth, the khan of the household gave [her this]’.

3.016 *bureau of seals and tallies* (印牌司): 丂 业丰廿 ‹doro p.ai.ss›
丂 业丰廿村 乏为夫
‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí› (Gao 2)
'court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司郎君'.
ち交 丁 毛矢 几卡 穴交 及太 丂 业丰廿村 乏为夫 仍关
‹eu.úr TWENTY FOUR de, ku.kẻ û.úr o.oi, doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí lú.i
乇 丰矢 丂 业丰廿村 乏为夫 为丰 乇 乇 丰矢 仐杏 尺关 穴 及太
TEN ai:de doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.ri a.ai TEN ONE ai:de de s.uni DAY.i nai o.oi
刃丙北 仐岁 仐毋 几亦 关化仐 今金中公公
rẻn.ei.ii s.iau s.iáŋ g.ün i.ri.s t.em.le.ge.er›
'At the age of twenty four, he was a palace guard … and a court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies; in the tenth year, he was a court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies; in the eleventh year, he was the head of night and day guards, and was granted the titles of … and junior general'.

3.017 *bury:* 可 (061). ‹kẻ›.
可公公 ‹kẻ.d.er› 'buried' - causative form: 可公圡丰 ‹kẻ.d.ha.ai› 'having been placed in a coffin 殯'. 丰 ‹ai› is a converb suffix.

3.018 *caifang* 採訪 'investigation commissioner' 仐丰 羔 ‹s.ai poŋ›
冇舟伏 乂ち 仐丰 羔[= 业忐] ‹hor.bo.ń x.eu s.ai poŋ (p.oŋ)›.
Liaoshi 77: Yelü Hou 吼 had the adult name Helu 曷魯 and held the office of *caifang* 採訪.
亣 叐化 伏罡犳 乏为夫村 曲公村 夂平伏 仐丰 业忐不 曲公 面叉
‹SIX u.ur ńi.oh.ji ś.a.rí:en go.er:en uh.ul.iń s.ai p.oŋ:on go.er xỉ.ún›
'Ugulin 兀古鄰, investigation commissioner 采訪, was a descendant (?) of the house of Niguji, court attendant, of the six divisions'.

3.019 *coffin of an emperor:* 又 夹行公 ‹GREAT xo.mú.er› 'great catalpa'
又 夹行公 及子圡丰 力冬圡出 丂 叔北穴犳
‹GREAT xo.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai, na.as.ha.án doro k.ii.û.ji› (Di 28)
'The great catalpa coffin was closed; this was called the ritual of causing-to-be at peace'. (Di 28). 大梓宮 'great catalpa palace' refers to the coffin of an emperor or royal person.

3.020 *ceremony, ritual:* 丂 ‹doro›.
This graph seems to mean both 'ceremony, ritual' and 'seal [symbol of authority]'. Its reading may have been **doro/n*.
关 本廾及北 九交 丰 亣 丈 丁 包 尺 京 㩧 刭及闲 亟乍尘 伏冬圡为出 丂 叔北穴犳

‹HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yů.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY YONGFU hu.o.gỏ qa.bu.cẻn ńi.as.ha.a.án doro k.ii.û.ji›
‘On the twenty third day of the sixth month of the Qiantong period, she was laid to rest together [with the emperor Daozong] in the Yongfu 永福陵 tomb with (appropriate) rituals’. The Yongfu tomb was the joint tomb of Daozong and Xuanyi.

3.021 *chicken:* **令为为** ‹te.qo.a› ‘chicken’
Mo. *takiy-a*, MMo. *taɣaqu*, Ju. *tiko*, Ma *coho*. Zodiac animal, corresponds to the stem 酉.

3.022 *child, son:* **舟为** ‹bo.qo› ‘child’
又及 舟为 ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘eldest child’
舟为关 舟为 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson’

3.023 *children:* **舟列出** ‹bo.hu.án›. The plural form of **舟为** ‹bo.qo›.
舟列出 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children, sons’
舟列出 圣 ‹bo.hu.án TWO› (Gu 48, Gu 16, Zhong 4, Zhong 29) ‘two children’
舟列出 包 ‹bo.hu.án THREE› (Renxian 2) ‘three children’
舟列出 乇 ‹bo.hu.án FOUR› (Gu 18) ‘four children’
舟列出 戋 ‹bo.hu.án FIVE› (Zhong 6) ‘five children’
丙令 舟列出 ‹mó:t bo.hu.án› ‘female children, daughters’
舟列出 キ父 包‹bo.hu.án ai:d THREE› (Di 34) ‘he had three sons’
Wang Hongli 1986 noted that **舟列出** ‹bo.hu.an› is similar to Mo. *baɣaču, baɣačuud* ‘children’. Toyoda adopted the reading *baɣaču* for **舟列出**, the plural form of **舟为** ‹bo.qo›, for which Toyoda wrote *baɣa*. The word is often followed by a numeral, as in the examples above.

3.024 *circuit, route* 路: **伏仌北** ‹ńi.ô.ho›. Cf. **伏仌交** ‹ńi.ô.úr› 部 *bu* ‘division’.
伏仌北有 午有 一 为 伏仌北有 午有 仐各火
‹ńi.ô.ho:en ů.en NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ů:en s.êŋ.un›
dongbeilu xiangwen 東北路詳穩 ‘*xiangwen* of the north east circuit’

3.025 *clear:* **冬ホ** ‹as.ar›
穴夯 冬ホ ‹no.e as.ar› ‘the earth is clear’ 地清 (Xuanyi)
午舟 午舟 穴芬 冬ホ, 九夯尘 九夯尘 关 北
‹ů.bo ů.bo neu.e as.ar, g.e.cẻn g.e.cẻn HEAVEN ho›
[ ] [ ] earth clear, [ ] [ ] heaven turgid. (Xuanyi 28-29)
冬ホ ‹as.ar› ‘clear’ is also in the reign title 清寧 *Qingning* ‘Clear and Tranquil’. **北** ‹ho› should mean 濁 *zhuo* ‘turgid’.

3.026 *close, cover:* 及子‹o.ju›
公车 伏屮穴火 及子圡丰 力冬圡为 兮 叔比穴犸
‹ne.ra ńi.l.û.ui o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.a doro k.ii.û.ji›
'Then the tomb was closed. This was called the laying to rest ritual'. (Zhi 22)
久圡本 及子列 夭 夯叐 仐圡长 不为出
‹ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u s.eu.kȧ on.a.án›
'On the day [the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell'. (Xu)

3.027 *cloud:* 圡平‹eu.ul›. Cf. Mo. *egüle* ~ *egülen*
夭 圡平 而亦 仐各火
‹HEAVEN eu.ul ca.úr s.êŋ.un›
Heaven cloud army *xiangwen*
'Commander of the Heaven Cloud Army 天雲軍詳穩'. Ji Shi, 1996:282-284. This is an inscription on a fish tally. 詳穩 *xiangwen* is a 'chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe or a group of imperial followers' (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:129 n.42)

3.028 *come, arrive:* 乂火 ‹x.ui› 'to come, to arrive'. Cf. Mo. *kür*- 'to reach, to arrive'.

3.029 *compose* [*the text of an inscription*] 撰': 冈 ‹COMPOSE› Cf. 2.308
冈为本‹COMPOSE.a.ar› (PAST)
令金当 冈为本 犹九 付冬 犲气 九才 公叐 杰公
‹t.em.én COMPOSE.a.ar us.gi b.as ja.aŋ g.ia n.u ci:er›
'Temian composed this, and then the characters were written by Zhang Jianu'. (Ren 1) (杰公 ‹ci.er›: masculine form of past tense)

3.030 *control:* 重伞 ‹hur.ú› (重2.014) 'person in control, controller'
重伞 巫 ‹hur.ú qa› 'controlling khan' (Daozong)

3.031 *country:* 九亦 ‹g.úr›
九亦村 ‹g.úr:en› (genitive) 九亦令 ‹g.úr:se› (plural).
There are two Kitan words corresponding to 國 'state'. The first is 九火 ‹g.ui› < **guei*. The second is a native Kitan word, 九亦 ‹g.úr›. Cf. Ju. 因土 Ki. 274 *gur-un*, Ma. *gurun* 'state'.

九亦令 公丰亥屮圡为出
‹g.úr.se n.ai.dzi.le.ha.a.án›
'to achieve friendly relations between states' (Ren 12)
圣 九亦令 公丰亥当 及金 叔丙
‹TWO g.úr:se n.ai.dz.én ś.em k.ei›

‘This being called two states at peace…’

3.032 *court attendant:* [Khitan] ‹ś.a.rí› *langjun.* In the *Liaoshi* glossary 沙里 *sha-li* is translated *langjun* 郎君 ‘court attendant’. [Khitan] ‹ś.a.rí› is clearly the Kitan form of 沙里.

3.033 *crow:* [Khitan] ‹hu.ho›. In *Xuanyi*, [Khitan] ‹g.u tau.lí.a› ‘jade hare’ forms a pair with [Khitan] ‹GOLD♂ hu.ho› in the set phrase 金烏西下, 玉兔東升 ‘the gold crow sets in the west, the jade hare rises in the east’. The gold crow represents the sun, the jade hare the moon. So [Khitan] ‹hu.ho› must mean ‘crow’, or perhaps simply ‘bird’. Cf. Ju. *gaha* (Ki. 157) Ma. *gaha*.

3.034 *daughter:* [Khitan] ‹mó bo.qo› ‘female child, daughter’
[Khitan] ‹mó bo.hu.án› ‘daughters’
[Khitan]
‹mó:t bo.hu.án TWO m.as.qú x.ul.ó.o.ón bú.d na.ha.án.er:en ńi.qo tai sh:en bo.qo s.g.e ci.ŋ tz:de û.ul.ge.én›
‘He had two daughters. The elder, *Hulon [of the ‘external families’, the Xiao], married Sege, recipient of edicts 乘旨, the son of Nehe, *taishi,* of the tent of the maternal uncles’.
The meaning of [Khitan] is unknown, but it might refer to the *biebu* 別部, non-Yelü clans, or what was known in Chinese as the Xiao. The name Xiao has not been identified in the inscriptions, the spouses of Yelü clan members being referred to by tribal names.

3.035 *day:* [Khitan] ‹DAY›. See 2.159.

3.036 *deceased:* [Khitan] ‹te.ge.er› (masculine) [Khitan] ‹te.ge.én› ~ [Khitan] ‹te.ge.n› (feminine) ‘deceased’.

3.037 *dew:* [Khitan] ‹ś.eu.kả› Cf. Mo. *sigüder* ~ *sigüderi*, Ju. *šileun* Ki. 010, Ma. *silenggi*.
[Khitan]
ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u ś.eu.kả on.a:án›
‘On the day [the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell 甘露降’. (Xu wang)
3.038 *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注: [Khitan] ‹284.089 DAY.i ui›
[Khitan]
‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí 284.089 DAY.i ui RECORD.gi.le.gi ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar›

'On the basis of the matters recorded in the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注, this was composed by Yelü Gu, court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies'. (Gao 2)

丄 夰 must refer to the emperor, the throne, or affairs of state.

叔企 雨仝 岸 伏及犳有 夭关 火 令金丙 闪屮刭

‹k.em sỏ.or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji.en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu›

灰 及化 全用伏 只公 曲兴有 廿 九才 公及 闪为本

SIX u.úr yỉ.il.iń û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.ar›

'Having received the imperial edict, [on the basis of] the *Daily Agenda of the Seven Sacred Persons* [seven former emperors], Si Jianu of the household of *yilimian* (princess consort0 [*and*] the *yuyue* (?) of the six divisions composed this'. (Nu 1)

3.039 *die - honorific* 薨*:* **为夾**- **tur*- Usually with the past suffix: **为夾将伏** ‹tu.úr.bo.ń›~ **为夾屮** ‹tu.úr.bun› ~ **为夾将叐** ‹tu.úr.b.ún› 'died, passed away'

伏及犳有 又及 丂 令当 尖炎关 杰不 业关 业及闲屮伏 圡夾 丁 灰矢 为夾将伏

‹mu.u.ji:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.úi.i oŋ:on p.i p.u.gỏ.l.iń eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de, tu.úr.bo.ń›

'She was made consort to the prince of Song and Wei, the eldest younger brother of the sacred one [emperor]. At the age of twenty six, she died.' (Yong 17-18)

圡夾 门 令 化为夾屮

‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR. tu.úr.bun›

'At the age of seventy four, he died'. (Di 9)

穴 丈 乇 乇 夭矢 圡夾 乍 壬矢 … 为夾将伏

‹nai MONTH TEN ONE DAY.de eu.úr THIRTY FIVE de … tu.úr.bo.ń› (Gu 13)

'On the eleventh day of the first month, at thirty five years of age … he died'.

关 仐生及北 九夾 丰 仐雨 杰不 为夾仐北

‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ho yů.úr ai, s.in oŋ:on tu.úr:s.ii› (Han Dilie 5)

'In the first year of the Tonghe 統和 reign, after the prince of Qin 秦王 died…'

3.040 *die* - *of an emperor* 崩: **屮丙刃**- ‹l.iu.rẻn-›

乂关同 令当 又有 伏及犳 又及 木关秀조屮 仍及

‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun tá.u

关 仐分屮並为本 主 王 又夫有 公示生示关

HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i

小 十 仐伏当 米及尺 仐为卡 屮丙刃兴

SOUTH WEST se.mu.én, ordu.u.dú s.a.kả l.iu.rẻn:er›

'Xingzong, the sacred, great, filial eternal ([Khitan script] ‹tá.u›) Chongxi emperor, while in residence in a *miri* (?) of the *nabo* of the south west hunting *ordo*, passed away'.
Note the form in [Khitan script] ‹én› when the verb refers to a woman:
[Khitan script]
‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kả.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.d.i l.iu.rẻn.én›
'Xuanyi, earth mother … in the crow *nabo*, passed away' (Xuanyi).

3.041 *die of an illness:* [Khitan script]- ‹s.em.ii-› 'contract a fatal illness, die of a fatal illness'.
[Khitan script]
‹GREAT s.en FIVE YEAR TEN MONTH EIGHT DAY.de eu.úr FORTY FIVE.de s.em.ii.er›
'On the eighth day of the tenth month of the fifth year of the Shouchang period, he contracted a fatal illness'. (Ren 1)
[Khitan script]
‹EIGHT MONTH TWO DAY eu.úr THIRTY FOUR.ur s.em.ii.er te.ge:er›
'On the second day of the eighth month, at the age of 34, he contracted a fatal illness and died'. (Hong 11)

3.042 *die* - plain form*:* [Khitan script]‹iu› 'not exist, die' (亡, 無)
[Khitan script]
‹ho.le.bun TWENTY FIVE WHITE♂ mo.ri DAY eu.úr SEVENTY xa:iảŋ.de iu› (Jin 38)
'*Holebun passed away on the twenty fifth day, the day of the white horse, at the age of seventy'. ([Khitan script] ‹xa:iảŋ.de› 'exactly' is used after thirty, forty etc. when there is no other numeral. It might mean 'exactly').
[Khitan script]
‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO LOC THAT s.em.ii:er PAST iu› (Yong 35)
'at the age of twenty two, he contracted that sickness and died'

3.043 *dilapidated:* [Khitan script]‹ei.iú.cẻ p.u.ui.i›
[Khitan script]
‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên ei.iú.cẻn p.u.ui.i dau.iń ho.le.hu.er›
'After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty; the palaces were dilapidated 坍塌; he felt very sad'. (Langjun 2-3)

3.044 *disaster, catastrophe:* [Khitan script] ‹hu.as.al›
[Khitan script]
‹ONE BORN/LIFE:én hu.as.al qudug›

'life is disaster and good fortune' (Nu 37).

[Khitan]

‹FIVE.NINE.ń g.iŋ jau go.er:en us.gi:de h.as.al.a qudug ei.au.ul.hu mo.t.hu hor.ei.én x.i 307.s.ii›

'In the writings of the five classics 五經 and the nine classics 九經, and the hundred schools of thought 百家, disaster and good fortune [alternate?] …' (Nu 35-36).

3.045 *division:* [Khitan] ‹u.úr› 'administrative district'. *Research* identified [Khitan] ‹u.ur› with 院 *yuan*. Cf. 余伲 Ki. 197 **yule,* cf. Jin *Dict.* p. 247 **ou-le* 院 *yuan*.

3.046 *dog:* [Khitan] ‹ńi.qo›. *Liaoshi* glossary: 捏褐 **nieho*; Mo. *noqai*, Ju. *niaha* Ka. 234, Ma. *niyahan* 'puppy'. *Liaoshi* 116: 捏褐耐, 犬首也 *niehe nai* means 'head of a dog'. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives the same word as 捏褐妳 [niehe ni]. [Khitan] ‹ńi.qo› is interpreted in a variety of ways: *nəxi ~ noxi; nəxəi,noxi, njaqa*, *ñaxa, ñaha, ñaqa.* The modern forms of Mongol all have [no] in the first syllable. Luo Fucheng identified [Khitan] as the cyclical sign 戌.

3.047 *dogs and falcons:* [Khitan] ‹ńi.qo ś.au.a›

[Khitan] [….] [Khitan]

‹deu le.bú.uh.iń ku.uŋ.úr tai sh […] n.ui kú.u ńi.qo ś.au.a hur.ú KNOW:er›

'His younger brother *Lubugin 魯不堇 *Kunggur 控骨里, *taishi* 太師*,* was in charge of the palace storehouses 内庫 and control of dogs and falcons'. (Han Dilie 20).

3.048 *dragon:* [Khitan] ‹lu› is the equivalent of the cyclical term 辰. The animal corresponding to 辰 is the dragon. [Khitan] transcribes 祿 , so can be read ‹lu›. Cf. Mo. *luu*, Tu. *luu* 'dragon' from a dialect form of Ch. 龍 *long* 'dragon'. In Zhonggong 24 there are two empty spaces before [Khitan] ‹lu ún.yỏ›. This may be the common word for the emperor, 龍顔 *long yan* 'dragon face, imperial countenance' (Liu Fengzhu 1983).

3.049 *drink:* [Khitan] ‹êm.ci› - stem form is [Khitan] ‹êm›

[Khitan]

‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm:ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún›

'After he drank wine 酣飲 with the local officials, he returned happy'. (Langjun).

3.050 *dutong* 都統 'campaign commander': [Khitan] ‹cau.ji hur.ú›. [Khitan] ‹hur.ú› means 'person in command of'. Suggestions for [Khitan] ‹cau.ji› have

been 楚古 *chugu* ‘an official in charge of the interrogation of prisoners in the northern adminstration’ and 旗鼓 *qigu* ‘banners and drums’. It is probably connected with [Kitan] ‹cau.úr› ‘war, battle’, so [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹cau.ji hur.ú› means ‘commander of the army’. If [Kitan] ‹ji› is a deverbal noun suffix, [Kitan] ‹cau.ji› would mean ‘those who engage in battle’, that is, troops. 都統 is also transcribed [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹du tu.uŋ›.

3.051 *earth:* [Kitan] ‹neu› or [Kitan] ‹neu.e› Also written [Kitan].

3.052 *earth mother:*
[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
‹neu.e tů.gi.n HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ.di:in l.iu.rėn.s.ii›
‘After the earth mother (empress) … and the emperor (son of heaven) passed away… Cf. also 3.063.

3.053 *east* (1): [Kitan] ‹ud.ur›. Ji Shi thinks that [Kitan] should be read **doru,* reading [Kitan] **do* rather than ‹ud›, cf. Mo. *doruna*. See also Wu Yingzhe 2004a. ‘East’ is written with the logogram [Kitan] 2.072. In the Yuan dynasty Mongol-Chinese glossary, the *Zhiyuan yiyu,* the equivalents of east, west, south and north in Middle Mongolian are *dorona, hörene, emüne and ümere,* so Toyoda 1992 suggests these readings for the Kitan logographs. Aisin Gioro 2004 suggests a simplified version: *doru, xoru, əmu* and *umə.* Another set of Mongol terms for the directions are *ǰegün, baraɣun, emüne* and *xoina.* The Kitan terms are [Kitan] ‹ci.g.en› ~ [Kitan] ‹dzi.g.en› ‘left’ (3.114) and [Kitan] ‹bo.ra.ia.an› ~ [Kitan] ‹bo.ra.a.an› ‘right’ (3.172).
[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ud.úr g.iŋ l.iú ś.eu›
‘the *liushou* of the eastern capital 東京留守’.
[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
‹NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ů:en s.êŋ.un p.od.i o.oi› (Zongjiao 13).
‘having become the … *xiangwen* 祥穩 of the Northeast route…’.
[Kitan] ‹ńi.ô.ho› has the same stem as [Kitan] ‹ńi.ô.úr› 部 *bu* ‘division’, and here corresponds to 路 *lu* ‘route’. [Kitan] is [Kitan] ‹s.êŋ.un› *xiangwen*, here corresponding to 將軍 *jiangjun* ‘general’. [Kitan] ‹o.oi› is the converb of the verb ‘become’. So [Kitan] must be the equivalent of 東 *dong* ‘east’. The graph [Kitan] is very similar to [Kitan] ‘younger brother’.
[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
‹eu.ul pu.kå.û.er MOUNTAIN:en EAST›
雲慶山之東 ‘to the east of Yunqing mountain’ (?) (Daozong 6).

3.054 *edict:* [Kitan] ‹k.em›. Ch. 敕 *chi,* Mo. *ǰarliɣ*, Ju. *alawa-(gi)* (*-gi* is instrumental). Ma. *hese.*

叔金 雨仝 冈为本 ‹k.em sȯ:or COMPOSE.a.ar›
‘he composed [this] by the order of an imperial edict 奉敕撰’
叔金 令勺 ‹k.em te.gu› ‘the edict says 敕曰’
叔金 雨仝 ‹k.em sȯ:or› (Nu 2) ‘the edict was received 敕奉’

3.055 *eight:* 丕 (007) 丕 ‹EIGHT›. Masc. form: 丕 (008) There is no evidence from the ordinals for the reading of 丕. 丕化犾 is ‘eighth, ordinal form of 丕’.
丕 仕及犳公 ‹EIGHT mu.u.ji:d› ‘the eight sacred ones’ = ‘The eight emperors of the dynasty’

3.056 *eighty:* 门 ‹EIGHTY› (300). Cf. 冂 301.
与夾冂 … 为夾屮
‹eu.úr EIGHTY ... tu.úr.bun› (Xu 38)
‘He died at the age of eighty’.
门 八ホ ‹EIGHTY bȧ.en› (Renxian 42) ‘eighty *li*’

3.057 *elder sister:* 癶 ‹au›. In 王易 Wang Yi, 燕北錄 *Yanbei lu*, we read 赤娘子者, 番語多呼謂之掠胡奧: the *chiniangzi* [red woman] in the barbarian language is generally called *lüehu ao*’. The word corresponding to 娘子 *niangzi* ‘royal lady’ in the inscriptions is 尔火 ‹aú.ui›. 掠胡 MC *liak-hu* must be 屮考夫 ~ 屮考余 ‹l.iau.qú ~ l.iau.qu›. See 3.166.

3.058 *eldest child:* 叉及 舟为 ‹m.o bo.qo› ‘big child = eldest child, eldest son 長子’
叉冬欠 ‹m.as.qó› ‘eldest son 長子’
叉冬欠 夂平伏 公金犾 个 叉为
‹m.as.qó uh.ul.iń d.em.er pu m.a›
‘The eldest son, *Ugulin 兀古鄰 *Temer 特末, *fuma* [emperor’s son-in-law]…’
丰公 舟列出 丕 叉冬欠 九火雨
‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO♂ m.as.qó g.ui.in› (Nu 26)
‘He had two male children; the eldest was Guoyin 國隱’.
Note the feminine form 叉冬夫 ‹m.as.qú›
叉冬夫 为太 令谷 公火 叉及 丈ホ 乂丙 九太 丕 舟矢 及平尜丙
‹m.as.qú tu.uŋ s.ï n.iú m.o TENT:en x.iu g.uŋ tai bo:de u.ul.ge.ei›
‘The eldest was *Tongzinü 童子女, having married Xiugong *taibao* 秀功太保 of the great tent…” (丙 -ei = converb).
叉冬余 ‹m.as.qu› ‘first’ corresponds to 叉及 ‹m.o› ‘big, eldest, first’.

3.059 *emperor:* 主 王 ‹hoŋ di› < 皇帝 **hongdi*.
主王雨 ~ 主王ホ ‹hoŋ di:in› ~‹hoŋ di:en› ‘of the emperor’

3.060 *empress:* 主 介 ‹hoŋ heu› < 皇后 **hongheu*; 穴芬 丙 ‹neu.e mo› ‘empress’ (earth mother). The *Liaoshi* provides us with a number of Kitan words for ‘empress’: 皇后, 忒里蹇, 可敦 and 耨斡麽(么). *Liaoshi* 116: 耨斡，后土稱. 麽(么), 母稱: ‘*neu-o*, the name of *houtu* ‘empress of the earth’; 麽(么) means 母 ‘mother’. *Liaoshi* 71: 遼因突厥, 稱皇后曰可敦. 國語曰忒里蹇. 尊稱曰耨斡麽么, 蓋以配后土而母之云. ‘The Liao, following the Tujue, called the empress *kedun*. In their national language they say *telijian*. The respectful term is *nou-o-mo*, it seems to be equating the *houtu* ‘the female earth deity’ with *mu* ‘mother’.” 穴夯 丙 ‹neu.e mo› corresponds to 耨斡麽(么) **neu-e-mo*.
令芡业 关关 穴夯 丙 ‹s.ý.yen i.i. neu.e mo› 宣懿皇后 ‘Empress Xuanyi’.

3.061 *empress dowager:*
主 丕 介 ‹hoŋ tai heu› < 皇太后 **hongtaiheu.*

3.062 *epitaph* 公夯矢 圭九当 月仐
‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g:én TEXT.ú›
muzhiming ‘epitaph, inscription on a tombstone 墓誌銘’

3.063 *establish:* 业及子 ‹p.o.ju-› The stem is **poju-* ‘establish’ probably from ‘to make, to be’.
业及子圡 ‹p.o.ju.ha-› ‘to cause or order to arise, to raise, to establish’.

3.064 *estate:* 业为朩 业雨 ‹p.a.ar p.in›
业为朩 业雨 尸 豸 夬关
‹p.a.ar p.in SEVEN HUNDRED rí.i›
‘estate of seven hundred households 邑食七百戶’ (夬关 rí:i ‘household 戶’)

3.065 *et cetera:* 朩朩 ‹ci.ci› ‘together with, *et cetera,* and others’.
令当为 朩朩 才 与 ‹t.úŋ.a ci.ci ia deu›
‘*Tuŋa and the others, his elder brothers and his younger brothers’.

3.066 *eternal:* 亰 (063) ‹ETERNAL› < 永 ‘eternal’
亰 㯋 列及闲 ‹ETERNAL qudug hu.o.gỏ›
yongfuling ‘Yongfu tomb 永福陵’
关 仍穴夯 亰 ‹HEAVEN ta neu.e ETERNAL›
‘Heaven and earth are eternal’. (Daozong)
令RI 亰 及 令火 ‹s.en ETERNAL u t.oi›
‘long life, eternal, good fortune (?) virtue (?)’: 壽長福德: inscription on a bronze mirror.

The meaning of 令炎 is uncertain, 德 'virtue' is usually written 公丙 ‹d.ei› or 令丙‹t.ei›.

3.067 *eulogy :*九村叐 朩佘 尗火 ‹g.en.ún c.ah w.un› 哀冊文'

3.068 *falcon:* 叉丸为 ‹ś.au.a›. *Liaoshi* 稍瓦 **shauwa* 'falcon'.
伏为 叉丸为 ‹ńi.qo ś.au.a› 'dogs and falcons', *q.v.* Cf. Da. *ʃowoo ~ ʃoɣoo* 'falcon'.

3.069 *fall, descend:* 不为出 ‹on.a.án› 降. See *dew*.

3.070 *father:* 丰 ‹ai›
丙 九炎 亥火 … 丰 兮 叉为
‹mó g.uŋ dz.iú … ai pu m.a› (Zhonggong)
'his mother was a princess … his father was the son in law of the emperor'
生 丰 ‹bu ai› 'grandfather'
生 生 丰 ‹bu bu ai› 'great grandfather'
叉及 丰 ‹m.o ai› 'great father' (eldest uncle)
朩化当 丰 ‹c.ur.én ai› 'second uncle 仲父'
及化 丰 ‹u.ur ai› 'ancestors'
丰公 ‹ai:d› 'males'
丰公 将列出 ‹ai.d bo.hu.án› 'male child, son'
Note: 丰 ‹ai› also means 'year'. The plural of 丰 ‹ai› 'father' is 丰公 ‹ai:d›, which also means 'males' in a general sense; the plural of 丰 ‹ai› 'year' is 丰令 ‹ai:se›.

3.071 *female:* 丙 ‹mó›, plural ‹mó:t› 丙令.
丙 ‹mó› means 'mother' and 'wife', and also refers to females generally, especially when followed by the plural suffix 令 ‹t›.
丙令 业本 乇 力冬将伏 毛
‹mó:t p.ar FOUR na.as.bo.ń ONE› (Zhi 13) (乇should be 毛 ?)
'He had four wives; one deceased'.
丙令 业本 乇 叉冬欠 力业出公 州欠 丈 村 伏本冈伏 丙公 曲村 个村 丞兆村 将为
‹mo.t ha.r FOUR m.as.qó na.ha.án.er zǒ.qó TENT:en ńi.ar.û.iń mó.n go.en s.en tai.sh:en bo.qo› (Xu 45)
'There were four daughters. The eldest [was married to] the son of *Isin *taishi*, of the great tent of *Narun of the junior tent of the maternal uncles'.

3.072 *fifth:* 令东及北 ‹t.ad.o.ho›. Also 令币及北 ‹t.od.o.ho›. The stem is 令东 ‹tad-›.

3.073 *fifty:* [Khitan script] ‹FIFTY› (155)
[Khitan script]
‹eu.úr FIFTY EIGHT p.iáu:er›
'at the age of fifty eight, he died (?)' (Linggong 18)

3.074 *filial piety:* [Khitan script] ‹c.i.is.d.bun›; [Khitan script] ‹c.i.is.de.bo.ń›; [Khitan script] ‹c.i.is.d.b.ún›. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 赤是得本 *chishideben* 'filial piety'; [Khitan script] ‹c.i.is.d.bun bo.qo› 'filial son'.

3.075 *first:* [Khitan script] ‹mo› or [Khitan script] ([Khitan script]) ‹m.as.qó ~ ‹m.as.qu› for masculine and [Khitan script] ‹BIG› or [Khitan script] ‹m.as.qú› for feminine. The basic meaning of [Khitan script] ‹m.as.qó› is 'big, great', and is used for 'first' in enumerating members of a family. Note that [Khitan script] ‹m.o› 'big' and [Khitan script] 'great', both corresponding to 大 *da*, are used for masculine nouns and feminine nouns respectively. Some inanimate nouns are modified by [Khitan script] ‹m.o›, others by [Khitan script] 'great'.

3.076 *first day of the lunar month* 朔: [Khitan script] ‹ho.le.bo.ń›.
This word means 'first', 'preface 序'. It is also a common name.

3.077 *five* [Khitan script] ‹tau› 'five' Cf. Mo. *tabun,* Da. *tawu. Liaoshi* glossary: 討 *tao* 'five'. [Khitan script]: dotted form of 'five'.
[Khitan script] ‹tau di:d› 'five emperors 五帝'
[Khitan script] ‹tau jau ai:de› 'In [= for the duration of] five hundred years'.

3.078 *forty:* [Khitan script] ‹FORTY› (145)
[Khitan script] □ [Khitan script]
‹FORTY ONE:de ku.kả û.u o.oi […] u.ur ś.a.rí rẻŋ.i›
'In the forty first year, for the first time he was appointed court attendant in the same bureau'.

3.079 *four:* [Khitan script] ‹FOUR›. The dotted form is [Khitan script]. 'Four' is also written [Khitan script] ~ [Khitan script] ~ [Khitan script] ‹260.úr› [Khitan script] ‹t.ur.uh›, [Khitan script] ‹d.úr.u›. [Khitan script] is only found in [Khitan script]. The ordinal form, 'fourth' is written [Khitan script] ‹t.ur.er› for masculine nouns and [Khitan script] ‹t.ur.én› or [Khitan script] for ‹d.ur.én› for feminine nouns. The stem form of 'four' is probably **dur.* Cf. Mo. *dürben.*
[Khitan script] ‹FOUR po.dz› 'the four seasons 四時'. (Inscription on bronze mirror).
[Khitan script] … [Khitan script]
‹t.ur.én ta.aŋ … c.en g.ia n.u s.êŋ.un ś.ï›
'the fourth, mistress Tang … was the wife (?) ([Khitan script] ‹ś.ï›) of Chen Jianu 陳家奴, *xiangwen* 詳穩 (Gu 18)

[Kitan script]
‹t.ur.er x.iŋ.iń ei.au.g.e t.ai.i ci.ŋ s.iaŋ›
‘The fourth, *Hiŋin *Yauge was a *dai chengxiang* 大丞相’.
Note the forms in [Kitan script] *er* for men and [Kitan script] *én* for women.

3.080 *friendly:* [Kitan script] ‹n.ai.ci› ~ [Kitan script] ‹n.ai.dzi›.

3.081 *general*: [Kitan script] ‹s.iaŋ g.ün› ~ [Kitan script] ‹s.iáŋ g.ün›. Ch. **zianggün* 將軍.
The difference between [Kitan script] ‹iáŋ› and [Kitan script] ‹iaŋ› is not known. They may be allographs, and are treated as such by most researchers.
[Kitan script]
‹gi.m ŋ.u úi ś.aŋ s.iáŋ g.ün›
‘general of the imperial insignia guard 金吾衛上將軍’
[Kitan script]
‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün›
‘general of the dragon and tiger guards 龍虎衛上將軍’

3.082 *generation:* [Kitan script] ‹n.on›
[Kitan script]
‹n.on:de c.as.un.e ri.g.d p.o.gȯ.cėn.e.ci› (Ren 2)
‘For generations they were appointed to the position of *yilijin*’.

3.083 *give, provide:* [Kitan script] ‹û-›. Cf. Mo. *ög-* ‘to give’

3.084 *goat:* [Kitan script] ‹êm.a› ‘goat, mountain goat 山羊’. Mo. *imaɣa* ‘mountain goat’. Corresponds to cyclical term 未.

3.085 *good fortune:* [Kitan script] ‹qudug›. This graph is usually written as two graphs in modern Chinese transcriptions: [Kitan script]. An examination of the rubbings of the inscriptions shows that these characters are written very close to each other, and are probably a single graph, perhaps derived from the cursive form of the Chinese character 福 *fu* ‘good fortune, happiness’. The Kitan word is transcribed in the Chinese texts as 胡覩古 *hu-du-gu* and 胡都 *hu-du*. A number of scholars have compared the word to Mo. *qutuɣ* ‘bliss’ and Ma. *hûturi* ‘happiness’. Cf. Ki. 343 [Jurchen script] **hutur*, Ka. 740 **huturi*. In the *Jinshi* we read, “there is a victory stele, in the national language it is called *hu-tu-ai ge-man*. It is the place Taizu rallied the troops’. The *Jinshi* glossary notes 與人同受福曰忽都 ‘to enjoy good fortune with other people is called *hu-du*’. On the Jin victory stele *hu-tu-ai ge-man* is written [Jurchen script] **hutuŋai gaman*.

3.086 *good, goodness:* [Khitan] ‹ś.ia› or [Khitan] ‹ś.iá.ah›. Also [Khitan] ‹ś.ên›. Mo. *sain,* Ma. *sain*. 武珪 Wu Gui, 燕北雜記 *Yanbei zaji*: 七月十三日至十五日迎節，送節，哭節，遼人呼為賽離捨 ‘On the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*. 賽離 *saili* means ‘moon, month’; 捨 *she* means ‘good’.
[Khitan]
‹ś.iá.ah cu.ur.ge.én go:t ü ei.ie po.mu.fẻi qudug› (Di 3)
‘A family which accumulates goodness is sure to have good fortune 積善之家, 必有餘慶’. Identified by Aisin Gioro 2004.

3.087 *grandchildren:* [Khitan] ‹bo.qo.i bo.hu.án›
‘children of children’
[Khitan]
‹bo.qo.i bo.hu.án THREE›
‘three grandchildren’ (Xiao Zhonggong 30)

3.088 *grandson:* [Khitan] ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo›. Wang Hongli (1986) noticed this structure, but read [Khitan] as *bekj* and related it to Tu. *bək* ‘official’. In Dao 7 we read [Khitan], ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo m.in se.bu.o.ho qa› ‘son of a son [grandson] our (?) succeeding khan’. The meaning of [Khitan] ‹m.in› is not known. Suggestions are ‘spirit, spiritual’ or ‘my, our’. The suffix [Khitan] ‹i› must be a genitive.

3.089 *grandfather:* [Khitan] ‹bu ai›.
[Khitan]
HEAVEN GOLD♂ hoŋ di:in bu ai›
‘the grandfather of the Heaven Gold emperor (Abaoji)’
Toyoda interprets [Khitan] as a logograph, read **ebüge*. [Khitan] is pronounced ‹ai› in Chinese transcriptions such as [Khitan] ‹k.ai› for 開 *kai*. As a logograph, Toyoda reads [Khitan] as **awi*, so [Khitan] is **ebüge awi.* There is no evidence for such transcriptions.

3.090 *great grandfather:* [Khitan] ‹bu bu ai›.

3.091 *grant title:* [Khitan] ‹t.em-› ‘to enfeoff, to bestow [land], to bestow a title 封’. Cf. Mo. *temdeg*-, Ma. *temgetu* ‘sign’ as in Ma. *temgetulembi* ‘to confer a mark of distinction on’. The reign title Tianjuan 天眷 ‘heaven favour’ is [Khitan] ‹HEAVEN d.em.ei.er›.
[Khitan] ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ d.em.le.ge.er› (Xu 7) (passive form with the suffix [Khitan] ‹lege›)

‘He was granted the title of secretariat director 中書令’
[Khitan]
‹ś.eu tai pu d.em.le.ge.ei› (Xu 34)
‘Having been granted the title of ‘acting grand mentor 守太傅’
[Khitan]
‹ś.eu tai sh d.em.le.ge.ei› (Xu 35)
‘Having been granted the title of acting grand preceptor 守太師’
[Khitan]
‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.ei›
‘Having been granted the title of bulwark generalissimo of the state 輔國上將軍’

3.092 *great, big:* [Khitan] ‹GREAT› (feminine?) (373); [Khitan] ‹m.o› (masculine?) ‘big, great’.

3.093 *great father:* [Khitan] ‹m.o ai›. This expression might mean maternal grandfather, or perhaps eldest uncle.

3.094 *hare, rabbit:* [Khitan] ‹tau.lí.a›. Luo Fucheng identified this as 卯, the cyclical sign corresponding to ‘hare, rabbit’. *Liaoshi* glossary 陶里 **tauli*. Cf. Mo. *taulai* ‘hare’.

3.095 *harmony:* The reign title Xianyong 咸雍 is [Khitan] ‹HEAVEN t.ud›. The word [Khitan] ‹t.ud› is common in the inscriptions; it may mean ‘harmony’.

3.096 *head:* [Khitan] ‹nai›. *Liaoshi glossary*: 捏褐耐, 犬首也 ‘**nieho nai* means ‘head of a dog’. [Khitan] ‹nai:d› ‘officials’. In the *Qidanguo zhi* we read ‘there is one leader, his name is Naihe: 有一主, 號曰乃呵’.

3.097 *heaven, sky:* [Khitan] ‹HEAVEN›. Readings such as **teŋri, *dəŋri, *təŋgər, *tŋgri* and the like are sometimes suggested, but there is no evidence for these. Cf. 2. 243.
[Khitan] ‘heaven and earth’ (乾坤) (Xuanyi 10, Renxian 36, Zhixian 19)
[Khitan]
‹HEAVEN no.e ei.eu.úr.û.ji.en› (Renxian 36)
‘Heaven and earth revolve 乾坤旋轉’
[Khitan] ‹HEAVEN ETERNAL EARTH FOREVER› (Daozong 37)
‘Heaven is eternal and earth lasts forever 天長地久’.
[Khitan]
‹t.iu.rẻn REGION.ei.e HEAVEN neu.e x.eu.ul.ún ETERNAL.iń DAY/SUN MONTH/MOON›

‘Virtuous region, heaven earth, … eternal sun [and] moon’. (Xuanyi 10)

3.098 *horizontal tents* 横帳: [Khitan] ‹xe.dú.ún go.er›. Cf. Mo. *köndelen* ‘across, transverse, horizontal, side, on the side’.
[Khitan]
‹qa.ha:an xe.dú.ún go.er zǒ.qu ai:en doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d c.as.a rẻn:er›
[Khitan]
us.gi hur.ú:un ui cu.n KNOW.i ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar›
‘Composed by Yelü Gu 耶律固, Hanlin academician [in charge of writing matters], court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司 of the household of the younger uncles 季父房 of the horizontal tents of the khan’.

3.099 *horse:* [Khitan] ‹mo.ri› ‘horse’. Cf. Ju. *morin,* Mo. *mori* ~ *morin* ‘horse’. It corresponds to the cyclical sign 午.

3.100 *house, household:* [Khitan] ‹go.er›. [Khitan] ‹go.er› refers to a tribal unit, here translated ‘household’. It often corresponds to 帳房‘tent’. [Khitan] is presumably a larger unit.

3.101 *humaneness:* [Khitan] ‹hur.ú.ur.bun›.
[Khitan] ‹hur.ú.ur.bun mu.u.ji› ‘humane, sacred 仁聖’, a title of the Daozong emperor. [Khitan] ‹mu.u.ji› is ‘holy, sacred, pertaining to the emperor; 聖’. [Khitan] ‹hur.ú› means ‘ruler, person in control’. So [Khitan] ‹hur.ú.ur.bun› may not mean the same as ‘humaneness 仁’.

3.102 *hundred:* [Khitan] ‹jau› 2.015 ‘hundred’. *Liaoshi* 116: ‘爪, 百數也’ *zhao* means a hundred’. MMo. *ǰawu/n,* Mo. *ǰaɣu/n,* Da. *dʒau* ‘hundred’. In Xu, [Khitan] ‹jau tau› transcribes the Chinese title 招討 **jautau* ‘bandit suppression commissioner’. In Zhong we find [Khitan] ‹jau.tau.ss:en›, a genitive form of 招討司 ‘bureau of the bandit suppression commissioner’. [Khitan] ‹jau nai› ‘the hundred officials; officialdom’ ([Khitan] ‹nai› ‘head, leader, magistrate, official’); [Khitan] ‹jau nai:d› ‘hundred officials’ (plural form).

3.103 *hunt:* [Khitan] ‹m.án.ún› (PAST)
[Khitan] ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a.an ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.án ja.cẻn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci› ‘some time ago because in his region there were no matters, he went hunting at the south side of Liang mountain. (Lang 1-2).
[Khitan] ‹m.án.ún se.mu.i› corresponds to ‘he set out to hunt’.

3.104 *husband:* 中 几 ‹ai ku› (‘male person’)
中 几 丞付矢 业平夂矛 公中化쏘去为出 与亦 乙 圣矢 木本 丙
‹ai ku tai.bo:de p.ul.271.ji n.ai.ri.le.ha.a.án eu.úr FIFTY TWO.de 054.ar iu›
‘Her relations with her husband, the *taibao*, were harmonious. She died at the age of fifty two’ (Han Dilie 16). The meaning of 木本 ‹054.ar› is unknown.

3.105 *in charge of:* 亜仐 ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge, person in control’.

3.106 *initial, first:* 九亦 ‹yů.úr›. The reading of 九 is unknown. Mnemonic from Ch. 尤.
九亦 中 ‹yů.úr ai› ‘the first year of a reign period 元年’

3.107 *intercalary month* 閏*:* 业平夂 ‹p.ul.uh› Ma. *fulu* ‘surplus, excess, left over, extra’.

3.108 *jade:* 几及 ‹g.u›
几及 戈矢为 ‹g.u tau.lí.a› 玉兔 ‘jade hare’. *Liaoshi* glossary: 孤穩 *gu-wen* ‘jade’. Ju. *guwen; guwu;* Ma. *gu*.

3.109 *jasa:* 閘撒 ‘tribal unit’ 木冬为 ‹c.as.a›

3.110 *jiayin:* 甲寅 (cyclical term): 仐当丈 巫去冬 ‹s.iau.qú qa.ha.as› ‘blue tiger’ 口 北 关 令丙关 乇 圣 仐当丈 巫去冬 中 尺亦叉 及平 乇 关 业及内 ‹qi po HEAVEN t.iu.rěn TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
‘The time was the fourteenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Tianhui 天會 reign period ’ (Langjun 4-5). Note that ‹s.iau.qú› seems to be the feminine form, and so tiger would be grammatically feminine. This aspect requires further research.

3.111 *khan:* 巫 ‹qa› ‘khan’
巫去釆 ‹qa.ha.an› ‘khaghan’ (genitive?) Ju. *ha’an* MMo. *qa’an* Mo. *qaɣan*.
令市 仐火 几亦有 巫 戈而 仐当 ‹t.[ai] s.uŋ g.úr:en qa ź.in s.úŋ› (Renyi 8)
‘Renzong, Khan of the Great Song State’. Renzong was the Song emperor at the time Xingzong was emperor of the Liao. Here we have the word 巫 ‹qa› ‘khan’ as distinct from 巫去 ‹qa.ha› ‘khaghan’. 巫釆 几火 几太 ‹qa.an g.ui g.uŋ› is a transcription of 韓國公 ‘lord of the state of Han’ (Zhonggong 21).
3.112 *know:* 尽 ‹KNOW› 尽 corresponds to 知 ‘to know’ in the official title 知事 ‘to know matters’, i.e. ‘administrator’. It is often followed by 令 ‹t› as in 尽令; which is presumably a plural marker: ‘officials, administrators’.

3.113 *lady:* [Khitan] ‹pu.is.iń› < 夫人 * *IXålQ* ‘lady’.
[Khitan]
‹qa.an g.ui pu.is.iń:en i.ri›
‘The title of lady of the state of Han’ (Zong 20)
[Khitan] ‹l.an l.iŋ g.ün pu.is.iń›
‘lady of Lanling prefecture’ (Xu 9)

3.114 *left:* [Khitan] ‹ci.g.en› ~ [Khitan] ‹dzi.g.en›. Mo. *ǰegün*.
[Khitan] ‹ci.g.en u.ur› ‘left division’
[Khitan]
‹dzi.g.en u.ur p.úŋ c.a.en i.ri t.em.l.ún›
‘he was granted the title of *fangcha* of the left division 左院訪察’ (Nu 7)

3.115 *linya* (Kitan title) 林牙: [Khitan] ‹l.êm.a› ~ [Khitan] ‹l.êm.hu.a› ‘scribe’. Franke, *Bermerkungen*, p. 24, notes that Menges suggested Tu. *alymɣá* as the origin of *linya*. Cf. *Liaoshi* glossary: 林牙, 掌文翰官, 舊稱爲學士: ‘*linya*, an official in charge of the academy, formerly known as *xueshi* [scholar]’. *Liaoshi:* Cf. *Biography of Tianzuo* 天祚紀 in the *Liaoshi:* 遼以翰林為林牙 ‘the Liao called the Hanlin *linya*.’
[Khitan]
‹SOUTH u.ur ü.n:en ui KNOW.u.ji l.êm.a p.o.gỏ.l.ún› (Ren 62)
“He was appointed *linya* of the southern division 南院’.

3.116 *live at, reside:* [Khitan] ‹sa-› Cf. Mo. *saɣu-* ‘live, dwell, reside, stay’

3.117 *local officials:* [Khitan] ‹em:en nai:d›
[Khitan]
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
‘After he drank wine with the local officials he returned happy’.

3.118 *long life:* [Khitan] ‹s.en›.
Often used as a name written in Chinese 義信 Yixin (and variants). This suggests the pronunciation *Isin.
[Khitan] ‹GREAT s.en› the reign period Shouchang 壽昌 (1095)
Cf. [Khitan] ‹ca.aŋ ś.eu.u› transcription of 長壽 ‘long life, longevity’

3.119 *lower capital:* [Khitan] ‹de.gė g.iŋ› ~ [Khitan] ‹te.gė g.iŋ›.
[Khitan] ‹de.gė g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu›
‘The *liushou* (regent, viceroy) of Yanjing 燕京留守’.
[Khitan] ‹de.gė fu.un ja.ri.qó›
‘Prime minister of the southern administation 南府宰相’.

[Kitan] ‹UPPER/NORTH:d pu ja.ri.qó›
‘Prime minister of the northern administration 北府宰相’.
[Kitan] ‹UPPER:d de.gė TWO g.úr:se›
‘The two states, north and south’.
[Kitan] ‹de.gė qa› ‘The southern khan’.

3.120 *madame, née:* [Kitan]. The graph appears after women’s names and appears to refer to the family name before marriage. In Chinese this is 氏 *shi*, and the Kitan graph may be derived from it. Here it is transcribed ‹śỉ› and translated ‘Mme’.

3.121 *male:* [Kitan] ‹ai:d›. As well as meaning ‘father’, [Kitan] means ‘male’ in a generic sense. It is followed by the plural suffix [Kitan] ‹d›.
[Kitan] ‹ai:de bo.hu.án TWO› ‘male children, two’
[Kitan] ‹THREE ai:d ia deu› ‘three male (elder and younger) brothers’.
[Kitan] ‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO› ‘male children, two’
[Kitan] ‹THREE ai:d ia deu›
‘three male (elder and younger) brothers’
[Kitan]
‹ai:d bo.hu.án TWO♂ m.as.qó g.ui.in eu.úr TWENTY NINE
‘He had two sons. The elder was Guoyin, twenty nine years old.

3.122 *man:* [Kitan] ‹ku› ~ [Kitan] ‹ku.u› ‘man’; [Kitan] ‹ku.û.un› *(gen.)*

3.123 *marry (of a woman):* [Kitan]- ‹û.ul.ge-›. Cf. Mo. *uruɣla-* ‘to become related by marriage’, but may also be a derived form of [Kitan] ‹û› ‘to give’ (as in ‘to give in marriage’); cf. Mo. *ög-* ‘to give’. This may be a passive form: to be married [to]. It is preceded by the dative/locative suffix [Kitan] ‹de›~ [Kitan] ‹do›.
[Kitan]
‹qudug.iń dir.bun tai sh:de û.ul.ge.l.iń› (Renxian 8)
‘She was married to *Qudugin 胡睹堇 *Dirbun 迪里本, *taishi*’
[Kitan] … [Kitan]
‹c.ur.én ta.aŋ śỉ.ń … ei.au.u sh n.u ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei› (Di 31)
‘The second, Mme. *Tang, having been married to *Yaoshinu, court attendant…’
[Kitan]
‹mó.t FIVE eldest x.iŋ x.e pu.is.iń t.iů.ia.ra qi.ii.ń qa.ha:an go.er:en ke qa n.u tai sh:de
[Kitan] □□□ [Kitan]
û.ul.ge c.ur.én l.i s.ie pu.is.iń … tai sh:de û.ul.ge.én THIRD.én du.uŋ x.e aú.ui

[Khitan script] t.iů.ia.ra qi.ii.ń qa.ha:an go.er:en t.iŋ h.oŋ n.u di.jǐn.gi.de û.ul.ge.én t.ur.én ńi.mú.qó.ń p.y.z.iú
[Khitan script]
zǒ.qo TENT:en śi.le.x.iń ju.rǻ.e ja.ri.qo:do û.ul.ge.én t.od.p.ón ei.aŋ s.ie pu.is.iń
[Khitan script]
na.ha.án.er ïl(?) go.c.en qudug.iń tur.bun tai sh:de û.ul.ge.le.ń› (Renxian 7-8). 'There were five daughters. The eldest, lady *Xiŋxe, married *Kekanu, *taishi*, of the household of the khan of the Xi. The second was lady *Lijie, who married…, *taishi*. The third was her highness *Duŋxe, who married *Dingguangnu of the household of the … khan of the Xi. The fourth was royal lady *Nimukun, who married … prime minister. The fifth was lady *Yangjie, who married *Qudugin *Dirbun, *taishi,* of the household of the maternal uncles'.

3.124 *maternal uncle:* [Khitan script] ‹na.ha.án›
[Khitan script] ‹na.ha.án.er› (acc). [Khitan script] ‹na.ha.án:d› (plur.)
[Khitan script] ‹na.ha.án:er zǒ.qó n.en›
'junior patriarchal household of the lineage of imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳'.
[Khitan script] ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zǒ.qo TENT:en›
'Of the tent of the maternal uncles 國舅帳'.
[Khitan script] ‹na.ha.án.er zǒ.qó ai:en ńi.ra.qu.ń›
'*Nirugun, of the younger lineage of the maternal uncles' (Zong 21)

3.125 *matter, affair:* [Khitan script] ‹ui› 事. Mongol, Manchu *weile*, so perhaps **ul* or **uil*.

3.126 *mengan ~ mingan* '*military unit*'
[Khitan script] ‹miŋ.án› 'military unit: Chinese 猛安 *meng'an*'
[Khitan script] ‹miŋ.an nai:d› 'leaders of a *meng'an*'

3.127 *meritorious official:* [Khitan script] ‹g.uŋ c.in› < 功臣 **gungchien*
[Khitan script] ~ [Khitan script] ~ [Khitan script]
‹g.uŋ c.in FOUR us.gi:d› ~ ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR› ~ ‹FOUR us.gi.d g.úŋ c.in›
'four character meritorious official 四字功臣': an honorary title with four characters.
[Khitan script] ‹g.uŋ c.in:en us.gi:d SIX› 'six character meritorious official 六字功臣'
[Khitan script]

‹g.uŋ c.in EIGHT us.gi:d› ‘eight character meritorious official 八字功臣’
乇 犰几村 杰 ‹ONE us.gi:en oŋ› ‘a prince with one character in his title 一字王’.

3.128 *middle:* 尺灰叉 ‹dau.úr.ún› Cf. Mo. *dumda* ‘middle’; perhaps 令岂分 ‹t.iau.dû›. Cf. 4.58.

3.129 *mid-winter:* 尺灰叉 叐平 ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul›
‘Mid-winter; the second month of winter 仲冬. (Langjun)
口 兆 关 令丙夾 乇 丞 仐岂夫 亟圡冬 中 尺灰叉 叐平 乇 关 业及内
‹qi po HEAVEN t.iu.rẻn TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
‘The time was the fourteenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year *jiayin* 甲寅 of the Tianhui 天會 reign period’. (Langjun)

3.130 *miri* ‘small settlement’ 彌里 *mili*, 抹里 *moli* ~ **meili*: 叉夫 ‹mo.rí›.
乂关同 仐当 叉村 仕叐犳 叉及 朩关杀公屮 仍叐 关 仐分屮亚为朩 主 王
‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun ta.u HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di
叉夫村 公尓乍尓关 小 十 仐仕当 米叐尼 仐为卡 屮丙刃夾
mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i SOUTH WEST se.mu.én ordu.u.dú s.a.kả l.iu.rẻn.er›
‘The Chongxi 重熙 emperor, the sacred great filial eternal Xingzong 興宗, while residing in the travelling *ordo* to the south west of the *nabo* 捺鉢 of the *miri* 彌里, passed away’ (Xingzong 2). This could mean ‘the horse *nabo*; cf. ‘the crow *nabo*’ in the *Eulogy for Xuanyi*.

3.131 *monkey:* 业及 ‹p.o›~ 业及及 ‹p.o.o› (Liu 1997). The cyclical sign 申 *shen*. Mo. *bečin,* Ma. *bonio, monio*.

3.132 *month:* 丈. Reading unknown, suggestions include **sair, *sær *sarj *sar* and the like, based on *Qidanguo zhi* 賽離 *sai-li , Yanbei zaji* 賽離 *sai-li, Liaoshi* 賽咿唲 *sai-yi-er*. Cf. MMo *sara* , WM *sara-n*. Cf Wu Gui 武珪, *Yanbei zaji* 燕北雜記 [Miscellaneous notes on Yanbei]: 七月十三日至十五日 迎節，送節，哭節，遼人呼為賽離捨 ‘On the thirteenth day of the seventh month they have welcoming festivals, sending-off festivals and weeping festivals. The Liao people call these 賽離捨 *saili she*. 賽離 *saili* means ‘moon, month’; 捨 *she* means ‘good’. *Liaoshi*: 五月重五日 … 國語謂是日‘討賽咿兒’. 討五, 賽咿兒, 月也 ‘The fifth month, the *chongwu* festival … in their language they call this day 討賽咿兒 *tao saiyier*. 討 *tao* means ‘five’, *saiyier* means ‘month’. 丈 should be distinguished from a slighly different graph, 丈 , ‘tent, tribal lineage’. In many transcriptions 丈 is used for both 丈 and 丈 . The two were not distinguished in *Research*.

3.133 *mother:* 丙 ‹mó›. Plural 丙令 ‹mó:t›. This was identified by Wang Jingru 1933 from the Xuanyi epitaph: 仐㚋业 关关 穴芬 丙公 九村叉 本朱 杰火 ‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó.n g.en.ún c.ah w.ún›. 穴芬 丙 means 'empress', cf. *Liaoshi* glossary 耨斡麽 *neu-e mo* 'earth mother (empress)' so 丙 should correspond to 麽.

丙 九尒 亥火 ‹mó g.uŋ tz.iú› 'mother princess 母公主'

本化尒 丙 付力‹c.úr.er mó bo.qo› 'son of a second mother 次母子'

中 丙 ‹ai mó› 'father and mother'

3.134 *mountain:* 求 2.006. 求 looks very similar to 朿 2.063, 'eternal'. It seems to mean 'mountain', or perhaps 'tomb in a mountain'.

3.135 *move, to be transferred:* 丙去药 ‹ei.eu.ji› 徙 *xi* 'to move, to transfer, to be transferred'; causative: 丙去化尒丙 ‹ei.eu.úr.ge.ei›

3.136 *nabo* 捺鉢 *'travelling palace* 行宮' 公东夂 ‹n.ad.bú›.

介交 公东夂 ‹heu.úr n.ad.bú› 'spring *nabo*'

米叐 介交 公东夂 ‹ordu.u heu.úr n.ad.bú› 'travelling palace (*ordo*), spring *nabo*'

公东生东 ‹n.ad.bu.ad› (plural?)

仐㚋业 关关 穴芬 丙 去卡叉 列北 村 公东生关 中丙刃当

‹s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kả.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.i l.iu.rẻn.én›

'The empress Xuanyi 宣懿, the earth mother, died in the crow (列北 ‹hu.ho›) *nabo* …'. (Xuanyi 5)

3.137 *name:* 关化 ‹i.ri›; plural 关化仐 ‹i.ri.se›. This term is also used for 'official title'.

3.138 *niangzi* 娘子*:* 'term of respect for a woman of high status':

尔火 ‹aú.ui›

尔火 叉文夯伏 丞 叉关雨 付力关 付力 又 令丙刃 尸 乇 丈 乇 丕 尺矢 佃当

‹aú.ui ś.ie.ên.iń tai ś.i:in bo.qo.i bo.qo GREAT t.iu.rẻn SEVEN, FIVE MONTH TEN EIGHT DAY:de BORN:én›

'Her highness was the grandchild of *Shanning *taishi*. She was born on the 18th day of the 5th month of the seventh year of the Dakang 大康 reign period' (Gu 6-7). Note the feminine ending 当 ‹én›.

3.139 *night:* 仐杏 ‹s.uni› Cf. MMo. **süni,* in Mo. *söni*.

仐杏村 非朱 ‹s.uni:en po:do› 'during the night'

仐杏 尺[关] ‹s.uni DAY:i› 'night and day'

口 仐杏 ‹qi s.uni› 'that night'

[Kitan] ‹TWO DAY.en s.uni tu.úr.bun›
‘he died during the night of the second [next] day’

3.140 *nine:* [Kitan] ‹is›. Cf. Mo. *yisü* ~ *yisün* ‘nine’. [Kitan] ‹is.er› ‘ninth’.
[Kitan]
‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau.de o.dz.ii, ś.o pu fu.u ś.o t.em.le.ge.ei› (Gu 10-11)
‘On the occasion of the present emperor’s accession to the throne, having been given the title of *shuaifu fushuai* 率府副率… ’ . The term [Kitan] *‘nine five’* is from Ch. 九五 refers to the emperor’s accession to the throne. There is some doubt in the literature about the Kitan word for ‘nine’ but note the Chinese transcription of the Kitan clan name [Kitan] ‹is.g.i› 乙室己’; **yishïgi* K. **išigi,* which strongly suggests **is* (or **iš*) for [Kitan].

3.141 *north:* [Kitan] ‹ABOVE, NORTH›. The reading of [Kitan] is unknown. Several investigators have suggested readings based on Mongol, such as *umar-a, xoina, xoi*, or *aru* ‘back, rear’, but there is no evidence for such readings.
[Kitan] ‹NORTH u.úr› ‘northern administration 北院’
[Kitan] ‘northern [and] southern administrations 北南院’
[Kitan] ‹NORTH u.úr ci.ŋ dzi› ‘the recipient of edicts 承旨 of the northern administration’.
[Kitan] ‹UPPER.d te.gẻ TWO g.úr› ‘upper and lower (or: north and south): the two states (Liao and Song)’
[Kitan] ‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss›
‘bandit suppression commission of the north west’ 招討司’. Note [Kitan] is the reverse order of Ch. 西北 ‘west north’.
[Kitan] ‹NORTH WEST n.ô.úr.i› ‘north west route 路’.
[Kitan]
‹NORTH u.ur tzi ü.n p.o.or s.úŋ oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
‘He was made director 知院 of the northern division [administration] and granted the title of prince of Song’

3.142 *now, present:* [Kitan] ‹ún.n›, also [Kitan] ‹ún.e›
[Kitan] ‹ún.n mu.u.ji› ‘the present sacred person [emperor] 今聖’.
3.143 *official:* [Kitan] ‹p.u ku› ‘official 臣’ Cf. Ju. 伲 *buwe* ‘official 臣’ (Ki. 276). [Kitan] ‹pú› might be an allograph, or a variant.

3.144 *official:* [Kitan] ‹nai› (332) ‘head’; plural [Kitan] ‹nai:d›; genitive [Kitan] ‹nai:en›
[Kitan] ‹l.i ceu:en nai:d:er›
‘The officials 官 of Lizhou 醴州’. (Langjun 3)

3.145 *older brother:* 才 ‹ia›
才 与 ‹ia deu› ‘brothers’
才 与火 ‹ia deu:un› ‘of the brothers’
才 丰 ‹ia ai› ‘father’s elder brother’; cf. 与 丰‹deu ai› ‘father’s younger brother’.
Toyoda read 才 as a phonetic graph [ia]. However, he also suggests that it is also a logograph, read **aqa.* This view has been accepted by some scholars, on the basis of Mo. *axa* and similar forms, but there is little evidence for it.

3.146 *one:* 乇 (026) ‹ONE› Reading unknown. 乇 is the dotted form. Chinggeltei suggests the reading **mas* from the ordinal form 又冬余 ‹m.as.qu› (and variants) ‘first’. This word however is likely to mean ‘eldest [in a family]’ rather than an ordinal, and perhaps related to 又及 ‹m.o› ‘large, great, 大 *da*. In the emended sections of the Dazong inscription, 伏全令九 ‹mu.em.se.gi› was rewritten as 乇令九 ‹ONE.se.gi›, suggesting that 乇 was pronounced the same as 伏全 ‹mu.em› or perhaps **mem*.

3.147 *order of years:* 令㐄付 ‹se.le.bo› ‘order of years in the hexagenary cycle 歲次’. 令㐄付 ‹se.le.bo› means ‘to follow’.

3.148 *ordo* ‘administrative unit’: 米 ‹ordu›.
Liu Fengzhu 1984 noticed that in the Yelü Dilie inscription, the word for the Da’an 大安 reign period, generally written 全分廾及内 ‹ú.dû.u.o.ón›, was written 米廾及内 ‹ordu.ó.o.ón›, and that the Chongxi 重熙 period, generally written 全分㐄圡为丰 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, was written 米㐄圡丰 ‹ordu.le.ha.ar›. So he concluded 米 = 全分 ‹ú.dû›.

3.149 *ox:* 杏 2.059. Possibly ‹uni›. It corresponds to the second of the twelve branches, 丑 *chou.* It is part of the Kitan word for ‘night’ 令杏 ‹s.uni› *q.v.* Cf. Mo. *üniye* ‘cow’, which might be the basic meaning of 杏, rather than ‘ox’. Cf. 杏余火 币気 兀 ‹uni.gú.un ca.aŋ sh› ‘ox herd *changshi’*.In the *Liaoshi* biography of Xiao Dilie there is a reference to his first position as an ‘ox herd official 牛群敞史*’*. 敞史 *changshi* is a ‘minor official in northern and southern administrations’.

3.150 *past, in the past:*朩丰‹c.ar› cf. Ma. *cala* ‘previously, before’.
朩丰 乃令 朶为夹 火 圡伏 㐄圡 叉为夹 孔尘关 又出叉 令伏关 仍気村 並方 㐄同矢 火火朩 ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a.án ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.án ja.cẻn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i›
‘Some time ago, because there were no matters [requiring his attention] in his region, he went hunting at the south side of Liang mountain’.

3.151 *peace, peaceful:* [Kitan] ‹as.ar›
[Kitan] [Kitan] ‹HEAVEN as.ar› Qingning 清寧 reign title ‘Clear Tranquility’.
[Kitan] [Kitan] ‹neu.e as.ar› 地清 *di qing* ‘The earth is clear’ (Xuanyi).

3.152 *people:* [Kitan] ‹hor›~ [Kitan] ‹hor.u›, also [Kitan] ‹hor.a›; gen. form [Kitan] ‹hor.u.un› (?)

3.153 *pig:* [Kitan] ‹ui› **uil* (?) ‘pig’. Cf. Ju. [Jurchen] **uliyan* Ki. 162 **u[l]gia* 兀甲 Ka. 414. The graph for the cyclical period 亥*,* corresponding to ‘pig’. [Kitan] also means ‘matter, affair; to serve 事’. Cf. Jurchen Ki. 398 *weile-be* ‘affair (accusative). Mo. *weile;* the Ma. *weile* ‘matter, affair, deed’; *weilembi* ‘to work, to make, to serve’. [Kitan] was possibly **uil~ *uile* or similar.

3.154 *place, local:* [Kitan] ‹em›
[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
‘After he drank wine with the officials of that place (local officials) he returned happy’.(Langjun). ([Kitan]= place)

3.155 *preface* 序: [Kitan] ‹ho.le.bo.ń›. The word means ‘first, beginning’.
[Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho›: ‘together with preface 並序’ (a formula at the end of the title of inscriptions).

3.156 *present emperor* 今上: [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau›
‘When the present emperor ascended the throne’. (Gu 10)
The expression [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en is tau› is preceded by four empty spaces.
[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹mu.u.ji HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ di› (Renyi 5)
‘The present sacred one [emperor], the heavenly peace [Qingning] emperor’. Qingning was a reign period of Daozong, who was emperor when the *Eulogy for Renyi* was composed.
[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
‹ún.n mu.u.ji:en m.in se.bu.s.ii t.ai s.iaŋ g.ün t.û ś.i:en i.ri.se rí:ii›
‘The present emperor having awarded him the titles of senior general and director of the office…’ (Yong 16)
3.157 *prime minister:* [Kitan] ‹ja.ri.qó› Ch.宰相. Cf. Mo. *jerge* ‘rank, title’ (Wang Hongli 1986).

3.158 *prince:* [Kitan] ‹oŋ›. [Kitan] is read ‹oŋ› rather than **uang*, as it is followed by the genitive suffix [Kitan] ‹on›, indicating a vowel [o] in the stem. It corresponds

to 王 'king' but when referring to a Liao title it is conventionally translated 'prince'.

3.159 *princess:* 九火 夲火 ‹g.uŋ c.iú› ~ 九太 亥火 ‹g.uŋ dz.iú› 公主.
叉雨 丞 杰不 伏芬 平村 伏兮 屶火 乂芬 九火 友火
‹m.in tai oŋ:on ńi.e ai:en ń.iau tu.uŋ xe.e g.uŋ tz.iú› (Zong 35)
'Princess *Tuŋxe, younger sister of the … father of our (?) grand prince'.

3.160 *promote:* 业及- ‹p.o-›. Probably the basic meaning is 'to become'.

3.161 *qatun* (wife of a khan): 尓.
达尓쏘 ‹då qatun.d› 'several queens' (Xuanyi 12).
巫圡夹 舟列出 尓村 夾叐化 ‹qa.ha:an bo.hu.án qatun:en úr.u.ur›
'The son of the *khan*, the daughter-in-law of the *qatun*'. (Ren 5)
仕关 出本舟伏 主 丞 介 丙车叐火关 公东刘村 万卡关 仕叐犳 乂关闲 仐当.关
仐岺屮圡本为 主 王村 尓叉 公
‹mu.i án.ar.bo.ń hoŋ tai heu ei.ra.u.ud.i n.ad.bú:en 201.kå.i mu.u.ji x.i.iŋ s.úŋ HEAVEN ú.du.le.ha.ar.a hoŋ di:en qatun.ún n›
'The empress dowager [mother of the emperor]…, *qatun* of the Chongxi emperor, the sacred Xingzong, of the … of the *nabo* of the Yelü'. (Renyi 4-5)

3.162 *quote:* 令勺 ‹te.gu› 'said: 曰'. Introduces a quotation.

3.163 *rabbit, hare:* 乇矢为 ‹tau.lí.a› 'hare, rabbit, cyclical term 卯. *Liaoshi* 陶里 **taoli* 'hare'. Cf. MMo. *taulai,* Mo. *taulai*.

3.164 *rat:* 央列 Reading unknown. 央 is 216. 列 is ‹hu›. Ju. *šiŋge*, Ma. *singgeri*, Mo. *xuluɣan-a*. It corresponds to the cyclical sign 子.

3.165 *record:* 圡九 ‹RECORD.gi›.
公车关 圡九冗犳 月仐 闵屮圡平
‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.û.ji TEXT.ú COMPOSE.le.ha.ai›
'He had the text of the tomb inscription composed'. (Ren 68)
圡九屮九 月仐 ‹RECORD.gi.le.gi TEXT.ú› 誌銘 'epitaph, tomb inscription'
圡九当 岺勺 ‹RECORD.g.én de.gu› 'the inscription says: 誌曰'
叉及 丙车叐火关 夲仃分 令用夂伏 伞毋 九亦村 乏谷 令关 尔火村 公车关 圡九当
月仐 ‹m.o ei.ra.u.ud.i ci.lú.dû d.il.uh.iń z.iaŋ g.ün:en ś.ï t.ad.i aú.ui:en ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én TEXT.ú›
'Inscription on the tomb of her ladyship Tadi, of the family of general *Churud *Dirugin of the great Yelü' (Gu 1)
公车关 圡九当 ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én› 'tomb inscription, epitaph'.

[illegible]

‹RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.le.hu.án iẻ.ún il.ge.e.ci, ss g.ia n.u› (Nu 40) ‘engraved and composed by Si Jianu’.

3.166 *red:* [illegible] ~ [illegible] ‹l.iau.qú~l.iau.qu›. Corresponds to 丙 *bing* in the ten stems; 丁 has not been found. MMo. *hulaqan*, Mo. *ulaɣan* ‘red’ 丙, *ulaqčin* ‘reddish’ 丁. The variants [illegible] ‹s.iau.qu› and [illegible] ‹s.iau.qú› ‘blue’ and [illegible] ‹l.iau.qu› and [illegible] ‹l.iau.qú› ‘red’ might be connected with grammatical gender. Cf. MMo. *hulaqan,* Mo. *ulaɣan* ‘red’ *ulaɣaɣčin* ‘red (of a female animal). In the *Yanbeilu* 燕北錄 by Wang Yi 王易, we read 赤娘子者，番語多呼之掠胡奧 ‘the red woman, in the barbarian language is generally called *lüe-hu-ao*’. Cf. Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:275. 奧 *ao* is presumably [illegible] ‹au› ‘elder sister’ or [illegible] ‹aú›. 娘子 *niangzi*: ‘a term of respect for a lady of high status.’ 掠胡 is MC **liak-hu*; Liao Chinese **liau-hu*. Either could correspond to [illegible] ~ [illegible] ‹l.iau.qu› ~ ‹l.iau.qú›, but the Liao form is more likely because of the diphthong in 掠 **liau*.

3.167 *region, area:* [illegible] ‹REGION› (perhaps ‘border, border region’)

[illegible]

‹c.ar am.se REGION.a:an ui eu.iń, l.iáŋ ś.a.an ja.cẻn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui:ci›

‘For quite some time there had been no matters [requiring his attention] in his region, he set off to hunt in the area of Liang mountain, and came to the Qianlong tombs of the Tang dynasty’.

3.168 *region, area, side:* [illegible] ‹xe.se›

[illegible]

‹GREAT s.en FOUR YEAR TEN MONTH FOUR DAY:de ún.én te.ge.er u MOUNTAIN:en xe.se:de s.a.ai, s.em.ii.er te.ge.er eu.úr FIFTY NINE b.iáu:er›

‘On the fourth day of the tenth month of the fourth year of the Shouchang period, the present deceased (?) while residing in the area of eternal (?) mountain, fell sick and died at the age of fifty nine’. The name of the mountain, [illegible] ‹u›, appears on a coin in which it corresponds to ‘eternal’. It also appears in [illegible] ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.gỏ› in Daozong 6, which corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* ‘Throne of Eternal Happiness’ in the Chinese epitaph. Cf. 3.215

[illegible]

‹xe.se:en ku.û.úd ś.iá.ah śi.mỉ.le.ge.er, ia deu n.ai.ci x.i.ud.cẻn.e.ci›

'He treated the people in his jurisdiction well; his relations with his brothers were harmonious and happy'. (Di 14)

3.169 *relatives, blood relations:* [Khitan] ‹c.i.is›
[Khitan]
‹c.i.is KNOW.t n.ai.c.én au.ui.én úr.u bo.qo.iú as.ar n.ai.ún.ha.as›
'The relations between the family members and the administrators were harmonious, elder ladies, younger ladies by marriage and the children lived in peace and happiness'. (Bo 33)

3.170 *resident at:* [Khitan]- ‹s.a-›. Cf. Mo. *saɣu-* 'to sit, be seated, to live, dwell, reside, stay; to be (copula), to become'.

3.171 *return:* [Khitan]- ‹p.od-›. Suffixed forms are [Khitan] ‹p.od.i›, [Khitan] ‹p.od.l.ún› 'return' (PAST).

3.172 *right* (direction word): [Khitan] bo.ra.ia.an ~ [Khitan] bo.ra.a.an. Cf. Mo. *baraɣun* 'west, right'.
[Khitan]
‹bo.ra.ia.an u.ru ś.a.rí.d s.êŋ.un›
'*xiangwen* of the court attendant of the right division 右院郎君詳穩.'

3.173 *ritual, rite, ceremony*: [Khitan] ‹doro›. [Khitan] 218 seems to have two meanings, 'seal 印' and 'ceremony, ritual 禮'. [Khitan] may have been pronounced [doro].

3.174 *sacred, holy, refers to emperor:* [Khitan] ~ [Khitan] ‹mu.ú.ji›. 聖 'sacred'
[Khitan] ‹mu.u.ji heu› 'sacred empress 聖后'
[Khitan] ‹mu.u.ji qa› 'sacred khan 聖汗'

3.175 *sad:* [Khitan] ‹g.en.ún›. Cf. Mo. *ɣuniɣ-* 'sadness, grief, anguish, sorrow, affliction, despondency, low spirits'; *ɣuniɣla-* 'to grieve, be afflicted, sad, depressed, worried' *ɣuniɣtai-* 'sad, sorrowful'.
[Khitan] ‹g.en.ún g.en.ún.e› 'sad, sad'.
[Khitan] ‹g.en.ún TEXT.ú› 'eulogy 哀銘'.

[Khitan] ‹GREAT g.en.ún l.iåŋ.u k.ii.û.ji›
'This is called … great sadness 嗚呼哀哉'.

3.176 *seal, imperial seal:* [Khitan] ‹SEAL›; perhaps [doro]. Ju. [Jurchen] , [Jurchen] *doro-n* 'imperial seal' (Ki.255) 璽; Ma. *doro* 'rite, ritual', *doron* 'a seal, a stamp'.

In the large Kitan script, 尧 corresponds to both 印‘seal’ and 禮 ‘ceremony’. 丐 also means ‘ritual, ceremony 禮’.
丐 业平 廾 ‹SEAL p.ai.ss› ‘office of seals and tallies 印牌司’ (Di 2)
丐 业平廾朷 叉为共岺 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d›
‘court attendants of the office of seals and tallies’

3.177 *second (in a series):* 杰化炏 ‹c.úr.er›~ 亥化炏 ‹dz.úr.er› (masc.) 杰化当 ‹c.úr.én› (fem.). The stem ‹c.úr› ‘two’ may be [tʃur]. 杰化当 平 ‹c.ur.én ai› ‘second uncle’.

3.178 *section:* 乂仐夻 ‹xe.se.ge› = 乂仐 ‹xe.se› ‘region, area’. Cf. Mo. *keseg* ‘part, piece, portion, fragment, group, section, division, department’. *Liaoshi* glossary: 奚首 *xishou* ‘the name of a cantonment or tent’ (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:297, n. 209). Perhaps 乂仐 ‹xe.se› = 奚首 *xishou.*

3.179 *servant:* 出叐 几 ‹pú.u ku› (出 297). 出叐 ‹pú.u› may be derived from 僕 ‘servant’.

3.180 *serve, to serve:* 及子 ‹o.ju›, found with suffixes: 及子伏 ‹o.ju.iń›; 及子叉 ‹o.ju.ún› ‘to serve in an official position’ (PAST).

3.181 *seven:* 乕 ‹SEVEN› 141. The reading of 乕 is unknown, perhaps **daro ~ dalo.* The word ‘seven’ is spelled 穴丹 possibly ‹da.lo›; ‘seventh’ is 穴丹炏 ‹da.lo.er›. 穴 is an allograph of 久 ‹da›, so ‘seven’ might begin with [da] rather than [do]. Cf. Ju. *darhon* ‘seventeen’ (Ki. 652); Mo. *doloqan* ‘seven’.
穴丹 公丕朷 叐化 平 ‹da.lo n.on:en u.ur ai›
‘Seven generations of ancestors’. (Yongning 3)
叔企 雨仝 乕 仕叐玙朷 尺关 火 令金丙 闪中列
‹k.em sỏ.or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji:en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu
灰 叐化 圣用伏 冈公 曲炏朷 廾 九才 公叐 闪为本
SIX u.ur yỉ.il.iń û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.ar›
‘The imperial edict was received. This was composed on the records given in the *Daily Agenda of the Seven Sacred Persons.* Composed by Si Jianu of the *Yilin (*yilimian* ‘princess consort’?) *yuyue* household of the six divisions’. (Nu 1)

穴丹炏 仐为乃伏 岺关尖九劵 仐并 九火
‹da.lo.er s.a.am.iń d.i.ŋ g.e s.iáŋ g.uŋ› (Han 7)
‘The seventh was Lord *Samyin 三隱 *Dingge 定哥’.

3.182 *seventy:* 冂. ‹SEVENTY› Reading unknown.

丰交 门 仐化 芳交屮 ‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR.ur tu.úr.bun›
‘At the age of seventy four, he died’. (Di 9)
扎平屮 丁 㐅 求 又化 及 丰交 门 不朩矢 丙
‹ho.le.bun TWENTY FIVE WHITE♂ mo.ri DAY eu.úr SEVENTY xa.iǻŋ:de iu›
‘Holbun died on the twenty fifth day, the day of the white horse, at the age of seventy (exactly?)’.

3.183*several, a few:* 达 115. Reading unknown. Mnemonic: ‹dǻ› from Ch.达.

3.184 *šari:* (title): 叉为夫 ‹ś.a.rí›. *Liaoshi* glossary: 沙里, 郎君也 ‘*šari* means *langjun* [court attendant]. 夫 should be [rí] rather than [li] as it does not appear in Chinese words.

3.185 *shumiyuan* 樞密院 ‘palace secretariat’: 叉炏 叉关 仲公 ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n›
叉炏 叉关 分 兆 ‹ś.iú m.i fu sh› ‘deputy chancellor 樞密副使’
口 非矢 叉炏 叉刃 为本
‹qi po:de ś.iú m.rẻn a.ai›
‘At that time, being a member of the palace secretariat (military affairs commission) 樞密 …’
仐伏 叉炏 叉刃 为丰
‹se.ń ś.iú mo.rẻn a.ai›
‘Yixin being a member of the palace secretariat (military affairs commission) 樞密…’.
If 叉刃 is another way of writing 叉关, 刃 should be read something like **i*. If this is an early loan from late Tang Chinese, 刃 could be **it* or **ir*.

3.186 *siblings, brother(s) and sister(s), brothers and sisters:* 伏号 ‹ń.iau›, plural 伏号伏炎 ‹ń.iau.ń.er› ~ 伏号伏叉 ‹ń.iau.ń.ún›.
伏号伏叉 乇 仐気为 分禾伏 付左叉 叉当扎 分 叉为关 付力 搽 丕 兆矢 及平夲万 丰交 乂 禾矢 仐夲当
‹ń.iau.ń.ún FOUR t.aŋ.a pu.is.iń bo.ra.ún ś.úŋ.ho pu m.a:an bo.qo qudug tai.sh:de u.ul.ge:ei; eu.úr SIXTY NINE:de te.ge:én›
‘There were four younger children. Madame *Tang’a was married to Qudug, grand preceptor, the son of the imperial son-in-law 駙馬 *Barin *Šuŋhe’. She died at the age of sixty nine’.
乇 伏号伏炎 包 叔炏 乇 叉公夫
‹FOUR ń.iau.ń.er THREE♂ k.iú 1 m.ó.qú› (Gu 17)
‘There were four children, three boys and a elder sister (?)

3.187 *sick, ill, contract disease:*仐佥 ‹s.em›.
仐佥北 ‹s.em.ii› ‘being ill’; 仐佥北炎 ‹s.em.ii.er› ‘became ill’

3.188 *side:* [Khitan] ‹ja.cẻn.i› 陽 *yang* 'south of a hill'. Cf. Mo. *ǰaqa* 'border, frontier, side, outskirts' ‹ja.cẻn.i›. Ming Ju. *ječi,* Ma. *jecen*. NB: [Khitan] ‹cen› is a mnemonic from Ch. 尘 *chen;* there is no evidence that it represents [čen]. In some transcriptions of Langjun, [Khitan] ‹ja.cẻn.i› is written [Khitan] ‹ja.úŋ.i›.

3.189 *silver:* [Khitan] ‹m.em›. Cf. Mo. *mönggü,* Ma. *menggun*

3.190 *sister, elder:* [Khitan] ‹au›.

3.191 *six:* [Khitan] ‹SIX›. Reading unknown. [Khitan] (masc.) Cf. Ju. **nilhun* 'sixteen' (Ki. 651) Ma. *niolhon* 'the sixteenth day of the first month', Mo. *ǰirɣuɣa/n* 'six'. [Khitan] might be read [nil] or [jir], but there is no independent evidence for this.
[Khitan] ‹SIX:er› 'sixth; ordinal form of six'
[Khitan] ‹SIX u.úr› 'the six divisions 六院'
[Khitan] ‹SIX u.úr tai oŋ› 'grand prince of the six divisions' 六院大王'.
[Khitan]
‹aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i SIX u.úr SOUTHERN [TRIBE] ([Khitan]) hu.ar.i yỉ.il.iń›
[Khitan]
‹eu.n go.er:en ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án tai oŋ:on t.ad.o.ón bo.qo›
'Her highness' name was *Tadi. She was the fifth child of grand prince Yelü Sarhan of the household of the *yuyue* *Huari, *yilimian* (princess consort?) of the six divisions'.

3.192 *six divisions:* [Khitan] ‹aú.ui i.ri t.ad.i› 'Her highness, name *Tadi' in the above quote (Gu 3) is followed by [Khitan]. [Khitan] is 'six'. The *Liaoshi* biographies often start by saying so and so is a member of such and such a 部 'group'. Among these the most common is 六院部人 'a member of the six groups'. Liu Fengzhu concluded that [Khitan] must mean 'a tribesman of the six divisions'. The six divisions were also known as the southern administration. [Khitan] means 'south', but also applies to a tribal group, perhaps 'the southern tribes'. [Khitan] ‹u.ur› means 院 'division, administration'. Cf. Hucker 3826: "The *liu yuan* 'six groups': one of the categories into which the founding emperor A-pao-chi, divided his tribal followers; its civil affairs were administered by the Office of the Southern Grand Prince (*nan ta-wang yüan* 南大王院, its military affairs by the Office of the Northern Grand Prince *pei ta-wang yüan* 北大王院, both agencies of the Northern Administration (*pei-mien* 北面 through which the dynastic government managed the affairs of the Khitan tribes and allied northern nomads."

3.193 *sixty:* ‹SIXTY›. Reading unknown. 267 is a mistake for 266.
‹eu.úr SIXTY TWO:de l.iu.rẻn.én›
'She died at the age of sixty two'. (Renyi 12)
‹SIXTY FOUR mu.u.ji a.bu.iń›
'The sixty four sacred hexagrams 六十四聖卦'. (Toyoda 1992)

3.194 *small:* ‹zỏ.qo› Reading of unknown. Aisin Gioro suggests **od.* Chinggeltei suggests **ba*, cf. Mo. *baɣa* 'small'. ‹zỏ› is a mnemonic from Ch. 州.
‹g.úr:en na.ha.án:er zỏ.qó TENT:en›
'The younger branch lineage of the imperial maternal uncles 國舅小翁帳'. The imperial uncle lineage of the Liao had two branches, 大翁帳 *da weng zhang* and 小翁帳 *xiao weng zhang.* 小 *xiao* corresponds to .
‹BORN.e.ci bo.hu.án TWO m.o tz.[…] giỏ tai bo zỏ.qó c.e.en.e ś.a.rí›
'She gave birth to two children. The elder was […] *taibao* 太保. The younger was *Chene, court attendant'. (Nu 9)

3.195 *snake:* ‹mu.ho.o›. Cf. Ju. *meihe* (Ki. 165), Mo. *moɣai.* Ma. *mehei*. The zodiac animal corresponding to the branch 巳. Cf. Mo. *moɣai*. Liu Fengzhu 1983 suggested **mehai* on the basis of the Jurchen and Mongol forms. Chinggeltei suggested **mogo*.

3.196 *son:* ‹bo.qo›. In the Chinese text of the *Eulogy for Shengzong* there is a reference to Xingzong, his son and successor. In the Kitan verson of the *Eulogy for Xingzong* there is a reference Xingzong's son and successor, Daozong. Liu Fengzhu 1985 noted that the *Eulogy for Daozong* contains a geneology of Taizong, Shizong, Jingzong, Shengzong and Xingzong, which demonstrated that ‹bo.qo› means 'son'. Cf. ‹u.oi bo.qo m.in se.bu.o.ho qa› 'mourning son, succeeding khan'. The meaning of ‹m.in› is not known. Suggestions are 'spirit, spiritual' or 'my, our'.
‹HEAVEN bo.qo› 'son of heaven 天子'.
‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po.do ei.ý.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'At the time of Tianzi huangdi 天子皇帝 he was given the title of prince of Yan 燕王'. (Nu 5-6)

3.197 *Song state:* ‹s.uŋ.un g.ui› ~ ‹s.uŋ g.úr›
‹s.uŋ:un g.ui.ń tz.in g.ui miŋ.an cau.úr›

‘The army of the *meng’an* 猛安 *,* the defender generalissimo 鎮国 of the Song state 宋國’. (Bo 16)

3.198 *south:* 小. Reading unknown. This graph also seems to mean ‘tribe, ethnic group, kinship group’. Wang Hongli 1986 explained 小 夃化 ‹siỏ u.ur› as ‘southern division 南院’. 小 ‹siỏ› is a mnemonic from Ch. 小.

3.199 *south, lower:* 令方~夲方~令文方 ‹te.gẻ ~ de.gẻ›
令方 九同 ‹te.gẻ g.iŋ› ‘southern capital, Yanjing 燕京’

3.200 *spouse:* 公仌 ‹n.ó› ~ 公及 ‹n.o› ‘spouse’
公及 令用攵伏 叐 尖丞 公夃 伞平 九亦
‹n.o t.il.uh.iń hua ŋ.êm n.u z.iaŋ g.ün›
‘Her spouse was Dilgun, General Huayannu 華嚴奴’. (Gu 7)
公仌雨 包 又 雨九夲 尔火 … 朩化当 令生万当 尔火 … 朿才丙 节伏 九夯 尔火
‹n.ô.in THREE BIG in.gi.d aú.ui … c.ur.én te.bu.ei.én aú.ui … 063.ia.iů cu.ń g.e aú.ui› (Zhi 14)
‘He had three wives. The most senior was her highness *Ingid… the second was her highness *Tabuye 撻不也 … the most junior (?) was her highness *Chunge.

3.201 *spring:* 介夾 ‹heu.úr› Cf. MMo. *qabur*, Mo. *qabur* Da. *xaur*.
介夾 公刈 ‹heu.úr ne.bú› ‘spring *nabo*’ .

3.202 *summer:* 马火 ‹ju.un› Mo. *ǰun.*

3.203 *supreme capital:* 夃化 九同 ‹u.ur g.iŋ› ‘*Shangjing* 上京’.
3.204 *sweet dew:* On the canopy of the Xu inscription, 久圡朩 及子刋 穴 岁及 叉圡卡 不为出 ‹ta.ha.ar o.ju.hu DAY 292.u ś.eu.kả on.a.án›. On the side of the canopy of the inscription, there are six Chinese characters: 掩閉日, 甘露降 *yan bi ri, gan lu jiang* ‘on the day it was closed, sweet dew fell’. The reading of 岁 is unknown.

3.205 *taizi:* 太子 ‘heir apparent’: 丕 廾 ‹tai ss›
丕 廾 叉书夃 兆村 关化 令金毕苁丙
‹tai ss ś.iau.u sh:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei›
‘Having been awarded the titles of *taizi* 太子 heir apparent and *shaoshi* 少師 junior preceptor… (Linggong 11)

3.206 *tejin* 特進 'title: specially advanced' ‹d.ei z.in›.

‹d.em.ei.er THREE ai:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii,

ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ qa.an g.ui g.uŋ p.u.ju.bun›

'In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was 'specially advanced 特進', awarded the title of *shangshu youcheng* 尚書右丞 and promoted to the position of duke of the state of Han 韓國公'. (Zhonggong 21)

3.207 *ten thousand:* ‹TEN THOUSAND› 2.187. See also 2.312. Perhaps ‹tůmu›. appears in the present corpus 13 times, but never following another numeral. There is also evidence that 312 means 'ten thousand'. Toyoda 1992 gives the following examples:

‹TEN THOUSAND ui› 'ten thousand matters 萬事'.

‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:en› 'ten thousand states 萬國'.

‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.ur›

'A thousand springs, ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋' (Toyoda 1998)

‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:se hur.ú qa›

'The khan controlling ten thousand states'.

‹tůmu.úr t.úŋ.a›, a name in the Kitan version of Renxian, seems to correspond to 圖木里同刮 **tumur tunggua*, a name in the Chinese version of Renxian. (Ji Shi 1996).

‹TWO 312› 'twenty thousand' (Renxian 49)

‹TEN TEN-THOUSAND û.ji:en› (Renxian 11)

'provided a hundred thousand'. This refers to the Song increasing the amount of silver and silk to a hundred thousand taels to compensate for the land taxes of the ten counties of Chinese territory taken by the Liao. ‹û.ji:en› may mean 'provided', derived from ‹û-› 'to give'. and might be allographs.

3.208 *tent* 帳 (tribal unit*):* (380) also written . means 'month', but on many occasions clearly refers to a tribal unit, 'tent'. *Research* did not distinguish from , and many modern transcriptions of Kitan inscriptions do not distinguish them either. Ji Shi pointed out that and were quite different graphs. occurs in the sense of 'tent' in ‹jǒ qó en› 'of the tent of the younger uncles'. ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er› is 'maternal uncles 國舅'; ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án.er zǒ.qó TENT:en› is 'of the tent of the younger maternal uncles of the state'.

3.209 *tent of the junior maternal uncles* 小翁帳: [Kitan script] ‹na.ha.án.er zỏ.qó TENT› is quite common. In Xu 3 this line there are several spaces before [Kitan script] ‹g.úr:en na.ha.án:er zỏ.qo TENT.en ŋ.in s.iŋ›, followed by a suffix of unknown meaning. This should be the status and title of the composer of the inscription. [Kitan script] ‹ŋ.in s.iŋ› corresponds to 銀青 *yinqing*, part of the title of the composer *wengzhang yinqing* 翁帳銀青 on the right side of the Xu inscription. So [Kitan script] should mean 翁帳 *weng zhang* 'of the tent of the junior maternal uncles'. According to the *Chapter on Officials* in the *Liaoshi*, there were two categories of 翁帳 *wengzhang:* the 大翁帳 *da wengzhang* and the 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang.* [Kitan script] ‹na.ha.án.er SMALL.qo TENT:en› can be translated 小翁帳 *xiao wengzhang*. The reading of [Kitan script] is unknown.

3.210 *that:* [Kitan script] ‹qi› ~ [Kitan script] ‹qi.hu›
[Kitan script] ‹qi po› 'that time' (Langjun)
[Kitan script] ‹qi po qi MONTH qi DAY qi po:do› (Zhonggong)
'That year, that month, that day, that time…'
[Kitan script] ‹qi s.uni› 'that night'
[Kitan script] … [Kitan script]
‹qi ai … ś.eu tai ui s.uŋ oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei g.uŋ c.en TWO us.gi:id rí.l.ún›
'That year, having been awarded the titles of *shou taiwei* 守太尉 and prince of Song 宋王, he was promoted to the rank of meritorious official with two characters in his title'.
[Kitan script]
‹qi.hu ai b.as hu.jur.il.ha.a.al ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ o.ho›
'That year he was then appointed secretariat director (中書令).
[Kitan script] also appears in [Kitan script] ‹qi.ii.ń› Xi 奚, the name of a tribe or an ethnic group related to the Kitans.

3.211 *third:* [Kitan script] ~ [Kitan script] ‹hu.úr.er› (masc.); [Kitan script] ‹hu.ur.én› (fem). [Kitan script] and [Kitan script] are also written [Kitan script] ~ [Kitan script], indicating the word for 'three' (written [Kitan script]) was possibly **ɣur.* Cf. Mo. *ɣurban* 'three'.

3.212 *thirty:* [Kitan script] ‹THIRTY›. Reading unknown.
[Kitan script] …. [Kitan script]
‹nai MONTH TEN ONE DAY:de eu.úr THIRTY FIVE:de … tu.úr.bo.ń›
'On the eleventh day of the first month, at thirty five years of age … she died'. (Gu 13)
[Kitan script] …. [Kitan script] ‹m.o … eu.úr THIRTY:de a.ai, tu.úr.bun›
'The eldest… being thirty years of age, died'. (Han Dilie 6)

3.213 *thousand:* 关 ‹THOUSAND› (207). Perhaps ‹mi̓ŋ›. Cf. Mo. *mingɣa* ~ *mingɣan*, Ju. *mingan* ‘thousand’ (Ki 664).
关 介交 及 公乃交 ‹mi̓ŋ heu.úr tumu̓n n.am.úr› (Xuan 30)
‘1000 springs, 10000 autumns 千春萬秋’
关买 ‹mi̓ŋ.án›: *meng’an* 孟安 (title)
业为本 业雨 圣 关 ‹p.a.ar p.in TWO THOUSAND› (食邑二千)
业为本 业雨 戋 关 ‹p.a.ar p.in FIVE THOUSAND› (食邑五千)
‘fiefdom of five thousand households’. 食邑 means ‘to feed off a fief: a general reference to land-grant nobles, who had broad political, military and fiscal control over tracts awarded to them’. (Hucker 5258).

3.214 *three:*包 ‹THREE› (166). Possibly *ɣur,* cf. Mo. *ɣurban* ‘three’ or *gor,* cf. Ju. *gorhon* ‘thirteen’.
包 中公 ‹THREE ai:d›‘three males’. 包 is the masculine form of 包.

3.215 *throne:* 列及闲 ‹hu.o.go̓› appears in 朿 叐 .列及闲 ‹ETERNAL u hu.o.go̓› in Daozong 6, which corresponds to 永福座 *Yongfuzuo* ‘Throne of Eternal Happiness’ in the Chinese epitaph. 朿 is ‘eternal’. 列及闲 ‹hu.o.go̓› must correspond to 座 ‘throne’ or similar.

3.216 *tiger:*巫立冬 ‹qa.ha.as›. Corresponds to 寅 in the heavenly branches. A common Chinese word for the tiger is the ‘king of the beasts 獸王’ so ‹qa.ha› might be ‘king, khan’, and ‹as› ‘animal, beast’. 巫立冬 ‹qa.ha.as› is sometimes compared to Daur *gerees* ‘animal’. In the *Yanbeilu* 燕北錄 we read 番兵以蔞珍思為號, 漢語熊虎二字也 “the barbarian soldiers use the term 蔞珍思 *louzhensi* as their name; in Chinese this means 熊虎 bear and tiger”. In another edition of the *Yanbeilu*, we read “the barbarian soldiers use the term 蕃珂忍 *fankeren* as their name, in Chinese this means 龍虎 “dragon and tiger”. Most researchers agree that “bear and tiger” should read “dragon and tiger”. Chinggeltei 1991 suggests the characters 蔞珍思 should be 蔞珂思, so Kitan **lu xaɣas*. From other examples we know ‘dragon’ was 发 ‹lu›.

3.217 *time:* 兆 ‹TIME› 2.279. Probably ‹po›. 兆 often appears with the locative suffix 朱 ‹do›, i.e. 兆朱 ‘at the time’. Cf Ju. 玫夋芈 **fu-on-do* (Jin *Dict.* p. 76), presumably reflecting Jin Ju. **po’on-do*. The correspondence between Kitan 兆 **po* and Jin Ju. 玫夋 **po-on* is indubitable. Ju. **po’on* may just be a transcription convention, but it is possible that here we have a case of a Jurchen nominal suffix (*-an, -in, -on*) attached to a Kitan word. The Kitan large script graph for ‘time’ is 玫, clearly similar to Ju. 玫. The *Liaoshi* glossary lists the word for ‘time’ as 叵, and notes that 叵 is pronounced like 頗 *po*. The *Qidanguo zhi* gives more detail: 瞎里叵, 漢人譯云 : ‘瞎里’是

‘請’, 旳是‘時’: the Chinese translate *hiali po* like this: *hiali* means ‘to invite’, *po* is ‘time’. *Research* suggested the reading [po].

3.218 *title; to grant a title:* 谷金 ‹d.em› ~ 令金 ‹t.em›. Chinese 封 ‘to enfeoff’. The word may be related to Mo. *temdeg* ‘mark, sign, signal’. It often appears with the causative/passive suffixes: 谷金平岑当 ‹d.em.le.ge.én›, with 平岑 ‹le.ge› indicating the causative/passive and 当 ‹én› the past tense.

丁 包 平矢 冈交平夲伏 九文圣 兆 马太 炏及 杰不 关化 令金平夲平叉

‹TWENTY THREE ai:de û.úr.le.ge.ń g.ie.êm sh ju.uŋ ŋ.u oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›

‘In the twenty third year… He was granted the title of *jianshizhong* 檢侍中 and Prince of Wu 吳王’. (Ren 22)

3.219 *together with:* 丙交 ‹deu.úr› (同)

金村 穴谷 丙交 亩舟 圣木 ‹em.en nai.d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci› (Langjun 4)

‘After he drank wine with the local officials…’

小 及化 丙交 压及犳矢 反太 ‹siỏ u.ur deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.or›

‘He became the associate administrator 同知 of the southern division’.

叉火 又关 仲公 丙交 压及犳矢 反比 ‹ś.iú m.i ü.n deu.úr KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii›

‘Having been appointed to the position of associate administrator 同知 in the bureau of military affairs …’ (Di 20)

压 ‹KNOW› corresponds to 知 ‘to be in charge of, to manage’ in official titles.

3.220 *tomb:* 公本 ‹ne.ra›

几太伏 丕 舟村 公本 业及 ‹ku.uŋ.iń tai bo:en ne.ra p.u›

‘This is the tomb of Kongning *taibao* 孔寧太保’.

令岑公 九杰 平同 九亦 杰不 公本矢 去九当 月仐.

‹te.ge.n g.oŋ l.iŋ g.ün oŋ:on ne.ra:de g:en RECORD.g.én TEXT.ú›

‘Epitaph on the tomb of the late prince of Guangling prefecture’.

3.221 *transfer to:* 乆火化夲丙 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› ‘having been transferred, having been moved to’ (徙). In the *Eulogy of Daozong*, 徙殯於仙游殿之西階 *xi bin yu Xianyoudian zhi xi jie* ‘it was transferred for burial to the steps at the west of the Xianyoudian’, 乆火化岑丙 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› corresponds to 徙 *xi* ‘to transfer, to move’. The stem of 乆火化岑丙 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› is 乆火 - ‹x.ui› ‘come’. 乆火化岑丙 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› is a causative form with the converb suffix 丙 ‹ei›. The word following 乆火化岑丙 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei›, 可谷圡平 ‹kẻ.d.ha.ai›, corresponds to 殯 *bin* ‘to put into a coffin; to bury’. This word also occurs in Renyi 13 where it corresponds to 殯 *bin* in the Chinese inscription. 可 means ‘bury’. Its reading is unknown. 可 ‹kẻ› is a mnemonic from 可.

3.222 *travel:* 仐又当 ‹se.m.én›

[Khitan script] ‹se.m.én ordu.ú› 'travelling palace 行宮'
[Khitan script] ‹se.mu.én o.ordu.u.dú› (LOC) (Daozong 5)
[Khitan script]
‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ m.en mu.u.ji m.o c.i.is.d.bun tá.u HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar hoŋ di
[Khitan script]
mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad.i siỏ shỉ se.mu.én ordo.u.dú s.a.kả l.iu.rẻn.er›
'The sacred great filial eternal Chongxi emperor Xingzong, when he was residing *in* the travelling *ordo* to the south west of the *nabo* of the *miri*, passed away'. [Khitan script] ‹mo.rí:en n.ad.bu.ad› might mean 'horse nabo'.

3.223 *tribe, clan* 部: [Khitan script] ‹ńi.oh.úr› ~ [Khitan script] ‹ńi.ó.úr› ~ [Khitan script] ‹ńi.ô.úr› ~ [Khitan script] ‹n.iû.úr› ~ [Khitan script] ‹n.ó.úr› ~ [Khitan script] ‹ńi.ó.úr› ~ [Khitan script] ‹ńi.ô.úr›.

3.224 *twenty:* [Khitan script] ‹TWENTY› (002). Reading not known.
[Khitan script] ‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO:de qi s.em.ii.er iu›
'At the age of twenty two, she became ill and died'. (Yong 35)
[Khitan script]
‹TWENTY THREE ai:de û.úr.le.ge.ń g.ie.êm sh ju.uŋ ŋ.u oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'In the twenty third year [he was] … granted the title of *jianshizhong* 檢侍中 and prince of Wu 吳王'. (Renxian 22)

3.225 *two:* [Khitan script] ‹TWO› 2.134. The stem of the word for 'second' in the inscriptions is [Khitan script] ‹c.ur›, so perhaps is [Khitan script] ‹cur›; Chinggeltei suggests *ǰur*. MMo. *ǰir* ~ *ǰur* 'two'; Ju. *ǰu* ~ *ǰue;* Ma. *juwe* 'two'; *juru* 'a pair'.
[Khitan script] ‹TWO mu.u.ji:d› 'two emperors';
[Khitan script] ‹TWO♂ qa.ha:ad› 'two khans'

3.226 *uncle (maternal):* [Khitan script] ‹naha› 'uncle', cf. Mo. *naɣaču* 'maternal uncle; relatives on mother's side'

3.227 *uncle (elder brother of father):* [Khitan script] ‹ia ai›.
[Khitan script] ‹ia ai m.ii.û s.iáŋ g.ün›
'His paternal uncle was general *Miiu'. (Xu 46)

[Khitan script] ‹ia ai ś.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di›
'His uncle, emperor Xingzong'.
[Khitan script] ‹t.ei z.û hoŋ di:en ia ai bo.qo› 'son of the uncle of Emperor Dezu'. (Gu 5)

2.228 *uncle (younger brother of father):* [Khitan script] ‹deu ai›.

[Kitan script] ‹hoŋ tai ś.eu bo.gi.ci› 'The imperial uncle *huangtaishu* 皇太叔, *Bogici. [Kitan script] ‹deu ai bo.gi.ci› 'father's younger brother, Bojizhi'.Bojizhi 孛吉只 was the younger brother of Xingzong. When Xingzong died, Daozong, not Bojizhi, inherited the throne. Bojizhi's son, Nielugu 涅魯古 was involved in the Chongyuan 重元 rebellion against Daozong.
[Kitan script] ‹deu ai hoŋ tai ś.eu bo.qo c.ú g.ui oŋ ńi.ar.û›
'The son of the father's younger brother, the imperial uncle, prince of the state of Chu, *Niaru'.
We also find the term [Kitan script] ‹c.ur.én ai› 'second father' translating 仲父 *zhongfu* 'second in a series of brothers', as in Xu 12: [Kitan script] ‹c.ur.én ai NORTH u.ur l.êm.a› 'second father, *linya* of the northern division'.

3.229 *upper and lower states (or: North and South states) Liao and Song:*
[Kitan script] ‹UPPER.d te.gẻ TWO g.úr›
'Upper and lower (or: north and south), the two states (Liao and Song)'.

3.230 *upper, superior:* [Kitan script] (009). This seems to be a contraction of [Kitan script] (001) 'above, upper' and the plural ending [Kitan script]‹d›, so 'the upper ones, the superiors'.

3.231 *upright:* [Kitan script] ~ [Kitan script] ‹te.po› ‹de.po› 正 *zheng* 'upright' (?)
Cf. Ma. *tob* 'straight, upright, serious, right, just'.

3.232 *venerable:* [Kitan script] ‹mu.le.gi›
[Kitan script]
‹mu.le.gi hoŋ.di.in n.ul.ri.ha.a.án PLACE.de ta.ha.ar o.ju.ún›
'The final resting place of the venerable emperor was closed'. (Zhixian 7)

3.233 *virtue:* [Kitan script] ‹t.iu.rẻn› (德).

3.234 *war, battle:* [Kitan script] ‹cau.úr› cf. *Liaoshi* 炒伍侕 *chao-wu-er*; MMo. *ča'ur* 'war'.

3.235 *west:* [Kitan script] ‹WEST› (040). Reading unknown. Suggestions include **ör* (Chinggeltei), *hörene* (Toyoda); **uru* (Ji Shi); *xoru* (Aisin Gioro).
[Kitan script] ‹NORTH WEST jau tau ss›
'The bureau of punishments 招討司 of the north west'.
[Kitan script] ‹NORTH ~ UPPER SOUTH/LOWER u.ur› 'the northern and southern divisions'.

It is not clear if 十 means 'west' or 'south'. The directions may have been expressed in terms of forward, backward, upper and lower. The terms for the directions in Ju. (*juleši, fulisi, fanti* and *uliti* Ki. 590-594) are also isolates, and may shed some light on the directions in Kitan. Final *ši* and *ti* may be suffixes.

3.236 *western capital:* 仐关 几同‹s.i g.iŋ› < 西京.

3.237 *white:* 汞 ‹WHITE› (004)- dotted form 汞' ‹WHITE♂›. The reading is not known. Sometimes forms based on Mo. *caɣan* 'white' *caɣaɣcin*, Ma. *šanyan* 'white', *šahûn* 'whitish, pale, dull white' are proposed.
汞 圡平 ‹WHITE eu.ul› 'white cloud'.
汞' 火金 ‹WHITE♂ m.em›'silver ice 銀冰'.
关 伞分圭为丰 乇 汞 戋 丰 圣 丈 乇 尺矢 佣炊
‹HEAVEN ú.dû.ha.a.ar ONE WHITE DRAGON YEAR TWO MONTH TEN DAY.de BORN.er› (Nu 9)
'He was born on the tenth day of the second month of the year of the white dragon in the Chongxi reign'.

3.238 *wife:* 丙几 ‹mó ku› 'female person'.
丙 几 几火 业关 再力 兆杏 个气 ‹mó ku g.ui p.i bo.qo sh.ï l.aŋ›
'His wife was titled state consort, his son vice director'.
再力关 再力 业及 仐並 几亦朿 丙 几 ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo p.u s.iáŋ g.ün:en mó ku›
'His grandchild was the wife of general Pu'.
丙 几 个关 仐交 今夭伏 ‹mó ku l.i s.ie pu.is.iń›
'His wife was Lady Li Jie'.
几火 杰不 又 丙 几 ‹g.ui oŋ:on GREAT mó ku›
'The senior wife of the prince'.
Another term for wife, or perhaps wives and consorts, may have been 业丰 ‹p.ar› or 丙令 业丰 ‹mó.t p.ar›. Mo. *beri* 'daughter-in-law, bride'; Ma. *berhu* 'form of address used by a wife to her husband's younger sister, or by an elder sister to her younger brother's wife'.

3.239 *wine:* 亩再 ‹342.bo› 金朿 穴公 ち交 亩再 圣本 X关秃只火 业币个叉
‹em:en nai:d deu.úr 342.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.ad.l.ún› (Langjun 4)
place GEN official PLUR together wine drink PAST happy SUFF return PAST
'after he drank wine with the local officials he returned happy'

3.240 *winter:* 及平 ‹u.ul›. Cf. Mo. *ebül*, Da. *uɣul*.
口 非 关 令丙公 乇 圣 仐当夫 巫圭冬 丰 尺交叉 及平 乇 尺 业反内

‹THAT TIME HEAVEN t.iu.er TEN TWO s.iau.qú qa.ha.as YEAR do.úr.ún u.ul TEN DAY p.o.ón›
‘The time was the tenth day of mid winter 仲冬 in the year of the blue tiger 甲寅, the twelfth year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period’ (Langjun)
[Kitan]
‹as.ar TWO YEAR u.ul, go.er qa.ha.ad u.úr.le.ge.ei, c.i.is:en oŋ:od mo.ha.as nai:d:en bo.hu.án:er i.ri:se t.em.le.gi se.ra.d› (Nu 7-8)
‘During the winter of the second year of the Qingning 清寧 period, having gathered at the tent of the khan, the princes of the blood and the children of the great officials were granted titles …’. The meaning of [Kitan] ‹se.ra.d› is unknown.

3.241 *write:* [Kitan] ‹ci:er› (PRET). [Kitan] ‹ci:er› is found at the end of inscriptions immediately preceding the name of the writer of the inscription (題).

3.242 *writing, character, graph:* [Kitan] ~ [Kitan] ‹us.gi›. The proposed reading of [Kitan] as ‹us.gi› is based on Mo. *üsüg* ‘letter of alphabet’
[Kitan] ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d FOUR›
‘four character meritorious official 四字功臣’
[Kitan] ‹g.uŋ c.in us.gi:d SIX›
‘six character meritorious official 六字功臣’
[Kitan] ‹ONE us.gi:en oŋ›
‘a prince with one character in his title 一字王’
[Kitan]
‹qid.i c.iau qú.i us.gi x.an na al.a.ar c.iau qú.i qid.i sh COMPOSE.ún›
‘He could write Kitan and Chinese well, and composed poems in Kitan and Chinese’. (Zhong 7)
[Kitan] ‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i›
‘person in charge of writing matters = Hanlin academician’. 翰林 ‘Hanlin [academy] is also transcribed [Kitan] ‹ho.a.an l.i.in›.
That [Kitan] ‹us.gi› means ‘writing, written word’ is known from the expressions [Kitan] 四字功臣 *si zi gongchen* ‘meritorious official with title containing four characters’ and [Kitan] ‹qid.ún.i g.úr:en us.gi› ‘the writing of the Kitan state’. The expression ‘four character meritorious official’ refers to an official honorary title which contains four characters, such as 守正保義 *shou zheng bao yi* ‘uphold justice protect righteousness’. A ‘six character meritorious official’ had a title with six characters, such as 輔忠保義奉国 *fu zhong bao yi feng guo* ‘support loyalty protect righteousness, supporter of the country’. The expression *yi zi wang* ‘one character prince’ means a title which had only one character, such as 陳

國王 *Chenguo wang* 'the prince of Chen', 魏國王 *Weiguo wang* 'the prince of Wei'. 王 is normally translated 'king', but in such titles is an abbreviation for 親王 'prince of the blood'. These titles were restricted to people of this status.

The *Eulogy for Daozong* was composed by Yelü Gu. Most of his official titles are transcriptions of Chinese titles, but the term 犹几 亜伞火 火 压关 ‹us.gi hur.ú:un ui KNOW.i› was not Chinese. In the *Chapter on Rituals* in the *Liao History*, we learn that Yelü Gu was, amongst other things, 総知翰林院事 *zongzi Hanlinyuan shi* 'in overall charge of the Hanlin academy'. So Shen Hui concluded 犹几 亜伞火 火 压关 must be 'controller of written matters', that is, 'Director of the Hanlin Academy'. Also written 犹几冇 火 亜伞 ‹us.gi.en ui hur.ú›.

3.243 *xianggong* 相公 : 伞並 几太 ‹s.iáŋ g.uŋ› **sianggung* 'lord'.

3.244 *xiangwen* 詳穩: 伞各火 ‹s.êŋ.un› 'chief of an army, a camp, a small tribe or a group of imperial followers'.
一 为 伏仌北冇 午冇 伞各火 ‹NORTH EAST ńi.ô.ho:en ů.en s.êŋ.un›
東北路詳穩 *dongbeilu xiangwen* '*Xiangwen* of the north east circuit'.
伏仌北冇 ‹ńi.ô.ho:en› has the stem ‹ńi.ô› 'tribe'. 伞各火 ‹s.êŋ.un› sometimes corresponds to 將軍 'general' in the inscriptions. The phonetic value of 各 is not known. Several suggestions have been made: **əŋ *kul *aŋu.* If we transcribe 各 as ‹êŋ›, 伞各火 would be ‹s.êŋ.un›. Chinggeltei has suggested 伞各火 may not be *xiangwen* at all. In the texts he examined, 伞各 ‹s.êŋ› appears once, 伞各尼 ‹s.êŋ.dú› three times, 伞各火 ‹s.êŋ.un› twenty one times. 伞各火 does not appear with any suffixes, as one would expect from a noun.

3.245 *year*:㐄 ‹ai›.
㐄伞 ‹ai:se› (plural) 㐄矢 ‹ai:de› (locative) 'in that year'
㐄冇 伞㐅爿 ‹ai:en se.le.bo› 'the order of the year 歲次 (the position of the year in the hexagenary cycle)'.

3.246 *years of age*: 圡夾 ‹eu.úr› 'years of age'
圡夾 门 令化 방夾中 ‹eu.úr SEVENTY FOUR.ur tu.úr.bun›
'He died at the age of seventy four'

3.247 *yellow*: 山, 㞢. Reading unknown, but perhaps **nügü ~ nigu.* See 4.60.

3.248 *yilijin* 夷離菫 *tribal chief:* 化几冇 ‹ri.g.en› *yilijin*.
关 主王丙 生 㐄 爿几伏 □□□ 化几冇 共关 㐄 伞夲並亦伏 令用久
‹HEAVEN hoŋ.di:in bu ai bo.gi.ń □□□ ri.g.en rí.i ai se.ra.ha.ad.iń t.il.uh›

‘The grandfather of Heaven Emperor 天皇帝 was the tribal chief *yilijin* 夷離堇 *Bogin (Abaoji < Abugin?). His ancestor (?) father was *Serahadiń *Diluh 迪魯古’. It is possible that [Khitan] ‹bo.gi.ń› may be a form of the name Abaoji < *Abugi, the founder of the Liao state. [Khitan], *Serahadiń, the father of Abaoji, was transcribed in Chinese as Salading 撒剌汀.

3.249 *yilimian* 乙林免, ~ 迤逦免 *or* 夷離畢 *yilibi* ‘tribal title’ [Khitan] ‹yỉ.l.iń› = *yilimian* (Ji Shi 1988, Chinggeltei 1992). This is a common word in the inscriptions, and presumably a title. According to Liu Fengzhu, it is an honorary title granted to the wife of an imperial clan member when he is promoted to the position of prince (*wang*).

3.250 *young*: [Khitan] ‹YOUNG.qú› ‘young’.
[Khitan] ‹YOUNG.qú› is often combined with [Khitan] ‹eu.úr› ‘time, age, period’, and is sometimes contrasted with [Khitan] ‹m.ó.qú› ‘old, elder, eldest’ when listing elder and younger siblings.
[Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹YOUNG.qú eu.úr.de› ‘at a young age’
[Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] ‹YOUNG.qú te.me.ei.én go.t ei.ie›
‘The youngest, Temian 特免, is still with her family (i.e. not yet married)’

3.251 *younger brother:* [Khitan] ‹deu›. younger brother. Haneda 1925 noticed that [Khitan] is similar to Jurchen, Ki. 287 **degun,* cf. Ka. 665 **deu*.
[Khitan] [Khitan] ‹qa.ha:an deu› (Langjun) ‘younger brother of the khan’
[Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan]
‹deu.ń.ún TWO♂ m.as.qu ta.ai ś.i n.u SMALL.qó pu.uŋ g.e tz.in g.ui pu.is.iń:en qa.yỏ.le.ha.ai›
‘There were two younger brothers. The elder was Taishinu. The younger … the lady of the state of Feng and the state of Zhen 豐国鎮国夫人…’
[Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] □□□□ [Khitan] [Khitan]
‹deu.iń.er ś.i ś.en n.u tai sh … tai sh› (Yong 21)
‘the younger brothers, *Shishennu *taishi* and … *taishi*’

3.252 *younger maternal uncles:*
[Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] =[Khitan] [Khitan]
‹mó bo.qo ONE pu.kả.x.én aú.ui SMALL.qó na.ha.án dzi.bu.qu
[Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan] [Khitan]
ś.a.rí.de û.ul.ge.ei eu.úr TEN EIGHT c.ar iu›
‘There was one daughter… She married *Jibuqu, court attendant, of the younger maternal uncles 小舅帳. She died some time ago at the age of eighteen’. [Khitan] ‹c.ar› ‘some time ago’ is in Langjun.

3.353 *yuyue* 于越 ‘tribal title’: ‹û.e›. A title used by the Uighurs and possibly derived from Tu. *ögüt* ‘counsel’ (Wittfogel and Fêng 1949:432).

3.354 *zhaotao* 招討 ‘bandit suppression commissioner’: ‹jau tau›
‹jau tau l.iŋ g.uŋ› (招討令公)
‹jau.tau.ss› ‘bureau of the bandit suppression commissioner 招討司’.

CHAPTER FOUR

MORPHOLOGY

> When Kitan children first learn to read, they first invert the order of the words in accordance with their spoken language, and sometimes they need three words to express one. When I was serving as Ambassador to the Jin State, my companion was the Vice Commissioner and Vice Director Wang Pu. Every time he gave me an example of Kitan it made me laugh. For example, when they read 鳥宿池中樹, 僧敲月下門*niao su chi zhong shu, seng qiao yue xia men* 'a bird rests on a tree in the middle of a pond, a monk beats the door under the moon', they say 月明裏和尚門子打, 水底裏樹上老鴉坐*yue ming li heshang menzi da, shuidi li shushang laoya zuo* 'moon bright in monk door hits, water bottom in tree on crow sits', something like that. Wang Pu was a Kitan from Jinzhou. - Hong Mai (1123-1202), *Yijianzhi.* Quoted in Wittfogel and Fêng *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*, p. 244. [1]

The quotation from Hong Mai indicates that Kitan had postpositions, or perhaps case endings, and that the verb was at the end of the sentence. In this section, we shall look at the evidence for nominal and verbal morphology in the Kitan texts.

4.1 Accusative-instrumental in 公 ‹er›

仐关 朩ち村 穴公公 丹业列平 ‹l.i c.eu:en nai.d.*er* bo.áŋ.hu.ai›
[Lizhou GEN official PLUR ACC order PART]
'He ordered the officials of Lizhou 醴州 prefecture'.
ち公 令朩 及子圡为平 ‹RITUAL:*er* t.ar o.ju.ha.a:ai›
'[The tomb] having been closed by means of a ritual…'
穴公 关化 ち公 令企仐公公 ‹û:n i.ri RITUAL:*er* t.em.le.ge:er›
'The title of *yuyue* 于越 was invested by means of a ritual'.
又 夹行公 及子圡平 力夂圡 ち 叔北穴犳
‹GREAT ho.mú:*er* o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.ai CEREMONY k.ii.û.ji›

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[1] Chinggeltei 1997a gives a word for word transcription into Mongol: *Saran-du xooš ang egüde toɣ sixu-du naɣur taxi modun-du xeriy-e saɣ umui.* 'While the moon is shining, a Buddhist monk beats a door, and a raven sat on the tree in the bottom of the water'. Jagchid 1979:206-277 gives another Mongol version: *Saran gegegen dur khuwuragh egüden-i toghshiju; usun-u modun degere keriye saghumui.* Many of the examples of Kitan morphology in this chapter are from Aisin Gioro 2004a.

'Having closed the great catalpa coffin, they were caused to rest in peace; this is called the [appropriate] ceremony' (or: 'this was in accordance with the [prescribed] ceremonies'.

‹c.ur.er bo.qo, hor.bo.ń x.eu, s.ai p.oŋ TWO: qa.ha.ad.*er* rẻn.le.ge.er›
'The second son, *Horbun Heu = Heluben Hou 曷魯本吼, investigation commissioner 採訪, served two khans'.

‹ś.iú:dú te.gu: m.o HEAVEN n.em.d:en eu.ul.e.ei, ia.lí p.u t.iu.rẻn:*er* ar.ó.le›
'In the Book [of Documents] it says: "Great Heaven has no favourites 親族; it assists only the virtuous".

‹c.iau qú.ui i.ri s.uŋ us.gi.er COMPOSE.ha.ai, deu bu ai sa.a.am.iń s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un go.*er* xỉ.le.ge.er›
'A Chinese name having been composed and written in the Song writing, the maternal grand uncle Lord *Samin inherited the lineage'.

4.2 The genitive in ‹an›

‹qa.ha*:an* xe.dú.ún go.er›
'the house (lineage) of the horizontal tents 横帳 of the khan'

‹go.n ca*:an* i.ri›
'the title of surveillance commissioner 觀察'

‹xe.ci hor.a:*an* ui›
'the affairs of the people of the city'

‹pu m.a*:an* bo.qo›
'the son of the emperor's son-in-law 駙馬'

‹l.êm.a:*an* bo.qo›
'the son of the *linya* 林牙'

4.3 The genitive in ‹en›

This is the most frequent of the genitive endings. It mainly follows consonants (including the semivowel *ĭ*):

圣村 叉冬欠 舟为 ‹TWO:*en* m.as.qó bo.qo›
‘the eldest child of these two people’.

九卖村 叉火 叉刃 ‹g.úr:*en* ś.iú mo.rẻn›
‘the military affairs commissioner of the nation 樞密’.

伞芡虫 火火村 舟为 ‹s.y.iên x.ui:*en* bo.qo›
‘the son of the director of the court ceremonial institute’

叉为六村 曲苓村 夂平伏 伞半 业杰不 曲苓
‹ś.a.rí:*en* go.er:en uh.ul.iń s.ai p.oŋ:on go.er…›
‘the house/tent/lineage 帳 of the investigation commissioner 采訪 *Ugulin of the house of the court attendant…郎君’

支九村 叐化 业岁 朩为村 关化 ‹dzi.g.en u.úr p.oŋ c.a:*en* i.ri›
‘the title of investigation commissioner 訪察 of the left administration’

朩关秃村 杰 ‹c.i.is:*en* oŋ›
‘prince of the blood’

兮 业半廾村 叉为六公 ‹SEAL p.ai.ss:*en* ś.a.rí:d›
‘the court attendants of the bureau of ceremonial seals 印牌司’

丞 兆村 舟为 ‹tai sh:*en* bo.qo›
‘the son of the grand preceptor 太師’

令半关 伞将 九亦村 关化 ‹t.ai.i z.iaŋ gün:*en* i.ri›
‘the name (or title) of the senior general 大將軍’

叐化 九同村 小丙 叉土 ‹u.ur g.iŋ:*en* l.iu ś.eu›
‘the regent of the supreme capital 上 京’

六犴 公不村 叐化 半 ‹da.lỏ n.on:*en* u.ur ai›
‘ancestors of seven generations’.

4.4 The genitive in 丙 ‹in›

丙 ‹in› follows syllables with the main vowel *i*:
主王丙 ‹hoŋ.di:*in*›
‘of the emperor’

岙叉关雨 ‹tai.ś.i:*in*›
‘of the grand preceptor 太師 *taishi*’

关 主 王雨 乍 屮 ‹HEAVEN hoŋ di:*in* bu ai›
‘the grandfather of the Heaven Emperor 天皇帝’

关 主 王雨 才 丙 ‹HEAVEN hoŋ di:*in* ia deu›
‘the brothers of the Heaven Emperor’

业关雨 舟为 ‹pi.i:*in* bo.qo›
‘son of the consort 妃’

岙 叉关雨 舟为关 舟为 ‹tai ś.i:*in* bo.qo:i bo.qo›
‘the grandson of the grand preceptor’

4.5 The genitive in 不 ‹on›

岙 杰不 公东矢 盂九当 ‹tai oŋ:*on* ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én›
‘inscription on the tomb of the great prince 大王墓誌’

丈芬 九火 杰不 公东矢 盂九当 ‹y.e g.ui oŋ:*on* ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én›
‘inscription on the tomb of the prince of the state of Yue 越國王墓誌’

叉冬欠不 舟为 ‹m.as.qó:*on* bo.qo›
‘the son of the eldest [son]’

夊平伏 仐屮 业杰不 曲丞 ‹uh.ul.*iń* s.ai p.oŋ*:on* go.er›
‘the tent (lineage) of the investigation commissioner 採訪 *Ugulin.’

仐雨 伞雨 九火 杰不 叉及 舟为 ‹s.in z.in g.ui oŋ:*on* m.o bo.qo›
‘the eldest son of the prince of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉’.

4.6 The genitive in 火 ‹un›

火 ‹un› usually appears after stems with the main vowel [u] and the semivowel [ŭ]:

几爫火 ‹ku.û:*un*›
‘of.the.man’

主 介火 九村叉 月伞
‹hoŋ heu:*un* g.en:ún TEXT.ú›
‘eulogy for the empress’

九丙次火 ‹g.iu.uŋ:*un*›
‘of the palace’

穴叐 伞当火 兆朱 ‹dau.u z.uŋ:*un* po:do›
‘at the time of Daozong’.

令方 令火 犭化余 ‹te.gẻ fu:*un* ja.r.qó›
‘the prime minister of the southern prefecture 南府’

尖关 令文夯 主 丕 介火 ‹ŋ.i t.ie.ên hoŋ tai heu:*un*›
‘of the empress dowager Yitian 儀天’

亦叐 力买 朩去火 曲公 帀 ‹w.u a.an c.eu:*un* go.n ca›
‘the surveillance commissioner 觀察 of Wu’an prefecture’

丹烎 伞火火 丹为 ‹b.ý.z.iú:*un* bo.qo›
‘the son of the *biexu* 別婿’

九太 亥火火 丹列出 ‹g.uŋ dz.iú:*un* bo.hu.an›
‘the children of the princess’

4.7 The genitive in **公** ‹n›

叉芬 ‹ún.e› ‘now’
叉公 ‹ún.n› ‘of the present’
穴芬 ‹û.e› ‘*yuyue*’ 于越
穴公 ‹û.n› ‘of the *yuyue*’

4.8 The genitive in **伏** ‹iń›

伏 ‹iń› (used with plurals?)

叐化伏 丰丕 ‹u.ur.*iń* ai:d›
‘former fathers: ancestors’.

叐化伏 化九丕 ‹u.ur.*iń* ri.gi:d›
‘former tribal judges *yilijin* 夷離菫’

口北伏 亟亚买 曲芬礿 ‹qi.ii:*iń* qa.ha:an go.er:en›
‘of the household/tent 帳 of the khan of the Xi 奚’

公金公伏 才 与火 ‹n.em:d:*iń* ia deu:un›
‘of the brothers of the imperial clan’ (Xu 2)

4.9 The genitive in **关** ‹i›

买叉关 九夾礿 犹九 ‹qid.un:*i* g.úr:en us.gi›
‘the writing of the Kitan state’. (Zhong 6)

将为关 圡化矢 ‹bo.qo:*i* eu.ur:de›
‘at the time when he was a child’

将为关 关化 ‹bo.qo:*i* i.ri›
‘childhood name’

将为关 将为 ‹bo.qo:*i* bo.qo›
‘son of a son = grandson’

4.10 The dative-locative in **矢** ‹de›

仍気礿 亚夯 化同矢 爻火朩 ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:*de* x.ui.ci›
‘After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty’.

仐关 九同矢 爻火朩 ‹s.i g.iŋ:*de* x.ui.ci›
‘After he came to Xijing (the western capital)’.

仐文夯 丙丙叐 今文夯矢 爻火化公丙 可公亚平
‹s.ie.ên ei.iu.u t.ie.ên:*de* x.ui.r.ge.ei kė.d.ha.ai›
‘It was transferred for burial at the Xianyoudian palace’.
仐分廾及内 乇 平矢 ‹û.d.u.o.ón TEN ai:*de*›
‘in the tenth year of the Da’an period’

禾 平矢 ‹NINE ai:*de*›
‘in the ninth year’

仐当 九火矢 ‹s.úŋ g.ui:*de*›
‘in the Song state’

[Khitan script] ‹eu.ur FORTY FIVE:*de* s.em.ii te.ge:en›
‘At the age of forty five, having fallen ill, he died’.

[Khitan script] ‹eu.ur SIXTY TWO:*de* … tu.úr:bun›
‘He passed away at the age of sixty two’.

[Khitan script] ‹eu.úr TWENTY SIX:*de* tu.úr.bo.ń›
‘He passed away at the age of twenty six’.

[Khitan script] ‹tai sh:*de* û.ul.ge:en›
‘She married the grand preceptor’.

[Khitan script]
‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO *de* THAT s.em.ii.er iu›
‘At the age of twenty two, he fell ill and died’.

[Khitan script] ‹TEN TWO MONTH SIX DAY:*de* BORN:er›
‘born on the sixth day of the twelfth month’

[Khitan script] ‹y.e g.ui oŋ:on ne.ra:*de* ENGRAVE.g.en›
‘engraved on the tomb of the prince of the state of Yue’

4.11 The dative-locative in [Khitan script] ‹do›

[Khitan script] ‹po.*do*›
‘at that time’

[Khitan script] ‹ja.r.qó:*do* û.ul.ge:er›
‘She married the prime minister 宰相’.

[Khitan script]
‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po:*do*, ei.ie.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge:ún›
‘At the time of the emperor Son of Heaven, he was awarded the title of prince of Yan 燕王’.

[Khitan script] ‹s.in z.in g.ui oŋ:*do* û.ul.ge:le.ń›
‘She was married to the prince of the States of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉’.

[Khitan script] ‹ś.iŋ s.úŋ:un po:*do*›
‘at the time of Shengzong 聖宗’

4.12 The dative-locative in 尼 ‹dú›

The dative-locative in 尼 ‹dú› follows stems with the main vowel [u].

仌杰冇 几冈尼 叉幺朱 叉村屮岺炎 ‹xe.ci:en ku.û:dú ś.iá.ah śi.mů.le.ge.er›
‘[as] to the people in the city, he treated [them] well’

叉火 尼 令勺 ‹ś.iú:*dú* te.gu›
‘In the the *Book of Documents* it says…’

令佥当 米及尼 令为卡 屮丙刃炎 ‹s.em.én ORDU.u.*dú* s.a.kå l.iu.rėn.er›
‘He fell ill; while he was staying in the *ordo,* he died’.

令各尼 冈平岺当 ‹s.êŋ.*dú* û.ul.ge.er›
‘She married the *xiangwen*’.

4.13 The dative-locative in 火 ‹iú›

星为火‹car.a:*iú*› ‘to Cara (personal name)’

杰冬为火 为圭亏 及米及化冇 而犸 亚仐 穴岺 丙卖 尽炎
c.as.a:*iú* a.ha.al, o.ORDU.u.ur:en cau.ji hur.ú nai:d deu.úr KNOW.er
Having been assigned *to* the *jasa* 閘撒, he was made commander in chief of the army and general administrator of the armies of the *ordo…*

火 is clearly ‹iú› in transcriptions of Chinese, but such a reading is anomolous with its role as a dative/locative suffix after stems with [a], which would suppose a reading like **da*. The issue remains unsolved.

4.14 The prolative (ablative) in 矢关‹de.i›

戈秃 九同 弗 曲冇炎 犰九矢关 ‹FIVE NINE g.iŋ HUNDRED go:en:er us.gi:de:i›
‘From the writings of the hundred schools, the nine classics and the five classics’. There are many examples of 矢关 ‹de.i› as a suffix in the texts (including the *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* in Chapter Six), but the context does not enable us to translate these with accuracy. Cf. Ma. *deri* ‘prolative (ablative) suffix’.

4.15 The plural in 岺 ‹d›

岺‹d› is the most common plural suffix, and can be followed by other affixes:

戈 王坌杓 穴坌炎关 ‹FIVE♂ di:*d*:en nai:d.i›
‘of the officials of the five emperors’

兂 穴坌 ‹jau nai:*d*›
‘the hundred officials 百官’

达 伕夊犳坌 ‹SEVERAL mu.u.ji:*d*›
‘several sacred ones [emperors]’

丞 伕夊犳坌 ‹EIGHT♂ mu.u.ji:*d*›
‘eight sacred ones [emperors]’

尸˙ 丰坌 ‹SEVEN♂ ai:*d*›
‘seven fathers/males’

包 丰坌杓 ‹THREE♂ ai:*d*:en›
‘of the three paternal houses 三父房’

夊化伏 丰坌 ‹u.ur.iń ai:*d*›
‘male ancestors’

化九坌 ‹ri.gi.*d*›
‘plural of 化九杓 ‹ri.g.en› *yiligin*’

叉为共坌 ‹ś.a.rí:*d*›
‘plural of 叉为共 ‹ś.a.rí› court attendant’.

乇 犹九坌 九太 朩杓 ‹FOUR us.gi:*d* g.uŋ c.en›
‘meritorious official with a title of four characters 四字功臣’
九太 朩杓 丞 犹九坌 ‹g.uŋ c.en EIGHT us.gi:*d*›
‘meritorious official with a title of eight characters 八字功臣’

尔火坌 ‹aú.ui:*d*›
‘plural of 尔火 ‹aú.ui› *niangzi* 娘子 ‘royal lady’.

包 兆坌炎 ‹THREE♂ sh:*d*:er›
‘three preceptors 師 (accusative)’

秂 乂闩坌杓 ‹NINE♂ x.iŋ:*d*:en›
‘of the nine capitals’.

Note 火円 ‹x.iŋ› for 九円 ‹g.iŋ› 京.

乇 业方公 ‹TEN ki.ên:*d*›
‘ten counties 縣 **hien*’

4.16 The plural in 令 ‹t›

令 follows 丙 ‹mó› ‘mother, wife, female’ and some other nouns.

丙令 丹列出 ‹mo:*t* bo.hu.an›
‘girls, daughters’

口令 ‹qi:*t*›
‘those’ (plural of 口 ‹qi›‘that’)

口令 屮令火 ‹qi:*t* ai:s:er›
‘those years (acc.)’

4.17 The plural in 朩 ‹ad›

尗 丞圡朩 ‹SIX♂ qa.ha.*ad*›
‘six khans’.

乑 丞圡朩 ‹TWO♂ qa.ha:*ad*›
‘two khans’.

买关 芜为朩火 [=芜为朩火] ‹qid.i REGION.a.*ad*:er›
‘the Kitan regions (accusative)’

乇 芜为朩冇 ‹FOUR REGION.a.*ad*:en›
‘of the four regions’

亾 伏廾灰 朩夂为朩 ‹SEVERAL ń.ó.lí c.as.a:*ad*›
‘several tribal *jasa* 閘撒’

亾 矢朩 ‹SEVERAL miŋa:*ad*›
‘several thousands’

无 公屮公屮列朩 ‹FIVE n.ai.d.le.ha.*ad*›
‘the five harmonies 五和’

4.18 The plural in 币 ‹od›

孙化欠币 叉炏 叉刃公 ‹ja.r.qó.*od* ś.iú mo.rẻn:*d*›
‘prime ministers 宰相 and military affairs commissioners 樞密’.

灭 兆币 ‹SIX po:*od*›
‘at the sixth hour’ *or* ‘six hours’

尽˙ 兆币 ‹SEVEN♂ po:*od*›
‘seven hours’ *or* ‘at the at seventh hour’

包 杰币利 冇及火 ‹THREE♂ oŋ:*od*:en hor.u:un›
‘of the people of the three princes’

4.19 The plural in 火 ‹ud›

丙东及火 ‹ei.ra.u.*ud*›
‘Yelü’ is possibly a plural form.

4.20 The plural in 仐 ‹se›

丰仐 ‹ai:*se*›
‘years’ (cf. 丰公 ‹ai:*d*› ‘fathers’)

丞 秃 丰仐 ‹EIGHT NINE ai:*se*›
‘eight or nine years’
丁 丰仐 ‹TWENTY ai:*se*›
‘twenty years’

乇 火仐 ‹TEN ui:*se*›
‘ten matters 事’

买仐 ‹qid:*se*›
‘the Kitans’.

及 九交仐 ‹TEN THOUSAND g.úr:*se*›
‘ten thousand countries 萬國’

包 丈仐 ‹THREE♂ MONTH:*se*›
‘three months’

秂 公朩仐冇 ‹NINE♂ n.on:*se*:en›
‘of nine generations’ (**公朩** ‹n.on› ‘generation’)

公朩仐冇 矢买 穴 ‹n.on:*se*:en miŋa:an nai›
‘an official with the inherited title of *meng’an* 猛安’

公朩仐 仐生丙关 ‹n.on:*se* se.bu.ei.i›
‘continuing on from (previous) generations’

4.21 Other plurals

将为 ‹bo.qo› ‘son, child’; **将列出** ‹bo.hu.an› ‘children’.

伏号 ‹ń.iau› ‘sibling’; **伏号伏关** ‹ń.iau.ń.er› ‘siblings’.

丬 ‹ai› ‘father’; **丬公** ‹ai:d› ‘father’s lineage 父房’.

戈为共 ‹ś.a.rí› ‘court attendants’ **戈为共公** ‹ś.a.rí:d› ‘bureau of court attendants 郎君班’.

刈 ‹bú› ‘external groups’ 別部; **刈公** ‹bú:d› ‘the group of clans which married into the imperial Yelü clan, referred to in Chinese as Xiao’.

4.22 Order of suffixes

The plural suffix comes before the case suffix:
乇 凫为ホ冇 穴公 ‹FOUR REGION.a:*ad*:en nai:d›
‘the officials of the four border areas’

包 杰币冇 冇叐火 ‹THREE♂ oŋ:*od*:en hor.u.un›
‘of the people of the three princes’

圣 亟主ホ关 ‹TWO♂ qa.ha:*ad*:er›
‘two khans (accusative)’.

4.23 Summary table of genitive, dative and plural suffixes

	GEN	DAT	PLUR
[e]	冇en	矢de	公 d 仐 t
[o]	朩on	朱do	币od
[u]	火un	尺dú	大ud

[a]	圣 an	火 iú	东 ad
others	关 i 雨 in 伏 iń 公 n		仐 se

4.24 Ordinal numbers used with masculine nouns

‘first, eldest’	‘second’	‘third’
(1) 又及 m.o (2) 又及 m.o (3) 又冬欠[余] m.as.qó[qú] (4) 又及 m.o (5) 又及 m.o (6) 又及 m.o (7) 又冬余 m.as.qú (8) 又及 m.o	(1) 朩化关 ‹c.úr.er› (2) 朩化关 ‹c.úr.er› (3) 朩化关 ‹c.úr.er› (4) 朩化关 ‹c.úr.er› (5) 亥化关 ‹dz.úr.er› (6) 朩化关 ‹c.ur.er› (7) 朩化关 ‹c.ur.er› (8) 朩化关 ‹c.ur.er›	(1) 灸关 ‹hur.er› (2) 列化关 ‹hu.úr.er› (3) 列化关 ‹hu.úr.er› (4) 列化关 ‹hu.úr.er› (5) 列化关 ‹hu.úr.er› (6) 灸关 ‹hur.er› (7) 列化关 ‹hu.úr.er›
‘fourth’	‘fifth’	‘sixth’
(1) 令化关 ‹t.úr.er› (2) 全化关 ‹d.úr.er› (3) 令化关 ‹t.úr.er› (4) 令化关 ‹t.úr.er› (5) 全化关 ‹t.úr.er› (6) 令化关 ‹d.úr.er› (7) 令化关 ‹t.úr.er›	(1) 令币及北 ‹t.od.o.ho› (2) 令东及北 ‹t.ad.o.ho› (3) 令币及北 ‹t.od.o.ho› (4) 令币及北 ‹t.od.o.ho› (5) 令东及北 ‹t.ad.o.ho› (6) 令东及北 ‹t.ad.o.ho›	(1) 互关 ‹SIX.er› (2) 互关 ‹SIX.er› (3) 互关 ‹SIX.er›
‘seventh’	‘eighth’	
(1) 六丹 ‹da.lỏ› (2) 六丹 ‹dá.lỏ›	(1) 丕化关 ‹EIGHT.ri.er›	

(1) Ren (2) Zhi (3) Zhong (4) Gao (5) Hong (6) Yong (7) Hai (8) Xu

4.25 Ordinal numbers used with feminine nouns

‘first’	‘second’	‘third’
(1) 又 ‹GREAT› (2) 又 ‹GREAT› (3) 又冬夫 ‹m.as.qú› (4) 又 ‹GREAT› (5) 又冬夫 ‹m.as.qú› (6) 又 ‹GREAT›	(1) 朩化与 ‹c.úr.én› (2) 朩化与 ‹c.úr.én› (3) 朩化与 ‹c.úr.én› (4) 朩化与 ‹c.úr.én› (5) 仌 (6) 朩化与 ‹c.úr.én›	(1) 列化与 ‹hu.úr.én› (2) 列化与 ‹hu.úr.én› (3) 灸与 ‹hur.én› (4) 仌化与 ‹x.úr.én› (5) 列化与 ‹hu.úr.én› (6) 列化与 ‹hu.úr.én›

‘fourth’	‘fifth’	
(1) 令化当‹t.úr.én› (2) 炎化当‹t.úr.én› (3) 令化当 ‹t.úr.én› (4) 炎化当‹d.úr.én›	(1) 令币及雨‹t.od.o.in› (2) 令币及雨‹t.od.o.in› (3) 令币及雨‹t.od.o.in›	

(1) Ren (2) Zhi (3) Gu (4) Di (5) Xu (6) Gao

4.26 Grammatical gender: past tense of verbs

In the past tense of verbs, one can also see this distinction between the suffix ‹er› for males and ‹én› for females. A clear example is:

火关同 伞当 … 屮丙刃炎
‹x.i.iŋ s.úŋ … l.iu.rẻn:*er*›
‘[the emperor] Xingzong … passed away’.

伞芡出 关关 … 屮丙刃当
‹s.y.iên i.i l.iu.rẻn.*én*›
‘[the empress] Xuanyi … passed away’

4.27 Grammatical gender: the dotted forms

The question of the “dotted forms” is a vexed one. With the colours, there might be a correlation between the undotted form and the first of the pair of stems which corresponds to it and the dotted form with the second, but a clear pattern has not yet emerged. Some of the colours have different suffixes, which suggests the dotted form has some phonetic implication. With the numerals, Wu Yingzhe has noticed an important phenomenon: in most cases, the dotted form refers to a male, and the undotted form to a female, or is non-gender specific. Dotted and undotted forms also appear with inanimate objects, strongly suggesting grammatical gender in Kitan. The whole corpus needs to be reexamined with a view to pursuing these clues, but that research has not yet been done. See Wu Yingzhe 2005a.

4.28 Verbal morphology

Finite verbs are found at the end of a sentence; converbs within the sentence, indicating ‘after which’, ‘because of’ and so on. Finite verbs have three past

tenses: the past tense in [Khitan] ‹ar› ~ [Khitan] ‹er› ~ [Khitan] ‹or›; the past tense in [Khitan]‹l.ún› (with variants) and the past tense in [Khitan] ‹bo.ń› ~ [Khitan] ~ ‹b.ún› ~ [Khitan] ‹bun›.

4.29 The past tense in [Khitan] ‹ar›

[Khitan]

‹qa.ha:an xe.dú.ún go.er SMALL.qu ai:en | doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d | c.as.a rẻn.er, us.gi hur.ú:un ui □.n KNOW.i | ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh | COMPOSE.a.*ar*›

‘Yelü Gu 耶律固, official in charge of writing matters, court attendant of the bureau of seals and passes, on service in the *jasa,* of the younger paternal lineage 季父房 of the horizontal tents of the khan 橫帳, *composed* 撰 [this] ’.

[Khitan]

‹k.em sỏ:or SEVEN♂ mu.u.ji:en DAY.i ui t.em.ei COMPOSE.le.hu yỉ.il.iń û.n go.er:en ss g.ia n.u COMPOSE.a.*ar*›

‘By imperial edict 敕奉, on the basis of *Daily Agenda of Seven Emperors* … Si Jianu 司家奴 of the house of the *yilimian? yuyue*, composed 撰 [this]’.

4.30 The past tense in [Khitan] ‹er›

[Khitan]

‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss d.em.le.ge.*er*›

‘He was awarded the title of commander unequalled in honour’.

[Khitan]

‹l.a.an l.iŋ g.ün oŋ d.em.le.ge.*er*›

‘He was awarded the title of Prince of Lanling’.

[Khitan]

‹GREAT ú.dû.u.o TEN s.iau.qú ni.qo ai ONE MONTH TEN FIVE DAY m.as.qu bo.qo s.en ci:*er*›

‘On the fifth day of the eleventh month of the blue dog year, the tenth year of the Da’an 大安 reign period, the eldest son Asin 阿信 wrote this’.

[Khitan]

‹HEAVEN as.ar TEN YEAR:de û.úr.le.ge.ń ś.o fu śo t.em.le.ge:*er*›

‘In the tenth year of the Qingning reign period 清寧, *Urlegen was awarded the honorary title of *shuai fu shuai*’.

4.31 The past tense in 仐 ‹or›

丁 灰矢 兮叐 九丙氺 兆杏 业及仐
‹TWENTY SIX:de pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh.ï p.o.*or*›
'At twenty six he was a *fu gong shi*'.

岔文夯 夆文夯 仃 岔圣 九文圣 业及仐
‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm p.o.or›
'He was appointed *dianqian du dianjian*'.

4.32 The past tense in ‹l.un›

尘为出 九火雨 孙化余 佃用叐
‹car.a.án g.ui:in ja.r.qó BORN.*il.ún*›
'The prime minister, *Cara *Guiyin, was born'.

尘为本 丙文夯 杰 九火雨 佃屮叐
‹car.a.ár ei.ie.ên g.ui:in BORN.*l.ún*›
'Chara 查剌, Prince of Yan 燕王, Guiyin 國隱 was born'.

丁 戶矢 曲公 甬 兆杏 岔金屮杏屮叐
‹TWENTY SEVEN:de go.n ca sh.ï d.em.le.ge.*le.ún*›
'At twenty seven he was awarded the title *guanchashi* (surveillance commissioner).

屮关 本圡村 穴岔癶 付业列丰 叉矢叐禸岔 仅 夆欠州屮圡亐叐
‹l.i c.eu:en nai:d:er b.áŋ.hu.ai śi.de.u.ji:d jỉn se.qó.zỏ.le.ha.*al.ún*›
'He ordered the officials of Lizhou that artisans renovate [the Qianling tombs]'

亥九村 叐化 业岂 本为村 关化 令金屮叐
‹dzi.g.en u.ur p.oŋ c.a:en i.ri t.em.*l.ún*›
'He was awarded the title of *fangcha* (examiner) of the left administration 左院'.

关 付力 主 王雨 兆朱 丙文夯 杰不 关化 令金屮岑屮叐
‹HEAVEN bo.qo hoŋ di:in po:do ei.ie.ên oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'At the time of emperor Tianzi, Son of Heaven, he was awarded the title of prince of Yan 燕王'.

关 冬本 九亥 丰矢 令历 九同 历氺 夊 业及仐 九文圣 马氺 叉火 屮同雨 关化 令金屮杏屮叐

‹HEAVEN as.ar yů.úr ai:de, te.gė g.iŋ tu.uŋ tz p.o.or, g.ie.êm ju.uŋ ś.iu l.iŋ i.ri t.em.le.ge.l.ún›
'In the first year of the Qingning 清寧 reign period, he was made the associate administrator 同知 of the southern capital 燕京, and concurrently was awarded the title of *jian zhongshuling* 兼中書令'.

亠 及化 友 仲公 业及仝 仐米 杰不 关化 今金个夲个叉
‹NORTH u.ur tz ű.n p.o.or s.uŋ oŋ i.ri t.em.l.e.l.ún›
'He was made the director 知院 of the northern administration, and given the title of the prince of Song 宋王'.

4.33 The past tense in **付伏** ‹bo.ń› ~ **付叉** ‹b.ún› ~ **屮** ‹bun›

丕 伞杏 叉岂叐 兆 丸平穴火 屮凧 北 尜 叉气 仐米九亦 业及子付叉
‹tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün p.o.ju*:b.ún*›
'The crown prince *taizi* 太子, junior preceptor *shaoshi* 少師, was concurrently appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger brigade 龍虎衛上將軍'.

丞金万尜 包 □ㄘ丕 丞万 伞雨 丞金屮尜北 凬气 叉火 万土 杰公 亟哭 九火 九太 业及子屮
‹d.em.ei.er THREE □ al.□ d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu ci.ŋ ka.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju:*bun*›
'In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period , he was given the title of 'specially advanced', and given the title of right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞, and was made lord of the state of Han 韓國公'.

伏 伏叉 叐夾穴当 业关 冬公 伏叐犳有 叉及 与 仐岂 公尜关 杰不 业关 业叐闲个伏 土夾 丁 灰矢 屶夾付伏
‹ńi ńi.ún u.úr.û.en p.i as.n mu.u.ji:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.ui:i oŋ:on p.i p.u.gŏ.le.ń eu.úr TWENTY SIX:de, tu.úr:*bo.ń*›
'His sister … was appointed consort of the imperial elder younger brother, the prince of Song 宋 and Wei 魏. She died at the age of twenty six'.
丕 分叐 屮同 仐为乃 叉並 兆 友同 杰 业及子屮
‹d.ai f.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iáŋ sh tz.iŋ oŋ p.o.ju*:bun*›
'He was appointed *tai fu ling san sheng shi zheng wang* 太傅領三省事鄭王'.

4.34 The causative/passive in 丬击‹le.ha› ~ 丬岑 ‹le.ge›

After back vowels, the causative/passive suffix is written 丬击 ‹le.ha› (‹el.ha›?), 兮击 ‹al.ga› and 平击 ‹ul.ha›. After stems with front vowels the suffix is written 丬杏 ‹le.ge› or 平杏 ‹ul.ge›. In some cases, the [l] is omitted:
伞分 ‹ú.dû› 'at peace'
伞分丬击 ‹ú.dû:*le.ha*-› 'cause to be at peace, pacify'

佃 ‹BORN› 'born'
佃丬击 ‹BORN.*le.ha*-› 'cause to be born: give birth to'

穴交 ‹û.úr-› 'sit'
穴交丬杏 ‹û.ur.*le.ge*-› 'cause to sit, cause to be seated'

令佥 ‹t.em-› 'award a title'
令佥丬杏 ‹t.em.*le.ge*-› 'be awarded a title'

公丰亥 ‹n.ai.dzi› 'be friendly'
公丰亥丬击 ‹n.ai.dzi.*le.ha*› 'cause to be friendly, bring about peace'

业及子 ‹p.o.ju› 'be [in an official position]'
业及子击 ‹p.o.ju.*ha*-› 'to be appointed, to be promoted'

穴平 ‹dau.ul-› 'lead'
穴平击 ‹dau.*ul.ha*-› 'be lead, follow'

及子 ‹o.ju› 'close'
及子击 ‹o.ju.*ha*› 'cause to close, be closed'

火火化 ‹x.ui.r› 'arrive'
火火化岑 ‹x.ui.r.*ge*› 'cause to arrive, send'.

仐为兮 ‹s.a.al› 'live at, reside'
仐为兮击 ‹s.a.*al.ha*› 'cause to reside, to settle'

几穴平 ‹ku.û.ul› 'grow up, become a man'
几穴平杏- ‹ku.û.*ul.ge*› 'cause to become an adult: to rear, nuture, educate'

4.35 Causatives and passives in context

[illegible]

‹GREAT ORDU.ô.o.ón dau.ur.ún, hó.le.bo.ń tau.kå.*le.ha*.ai, û.n i.ri doro:er t.em.le.g.er›

‘In the middle of the Da’an 大安 reign period, he was summoned (?) and by means of a great ceremony, was given the honorary title of 于越 *yuyue*’.

[illegible]…

‹qi ai n.am.úr, da.ha.ar.i tau.ordu.ó.*ul.ha*.ai, bo.ra.a.an u.ur ś.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un…›

‘In that year in the autumn he was … summoned, and [appointed] *xiangwen* 詳穩 of the bureau of court gentleman 郎君班 of the right chancellery 右院’.

[illegible]

‹s.i ś.ui ki.ên k.ai g.ui na.am t.em.*le.ge*.ei›

‘Having been awarded the honorary title of dynasty founding baron *kaiguonan* 開國男 of Qishui county 漆水縣… ’.

[illegible] … [illegible]

‹ńi ń.ún … mu.u.j:en m.o deu s.úŋ ŋ.ui:i oŋ:on p.i p.o.*gỏ.le*.ń›

‘His younger sister …was made the consort of the emperor’s eldest younger brother, the prince of Song 宋 and 魏 Wei’.

4.36 The converb in vowel + i

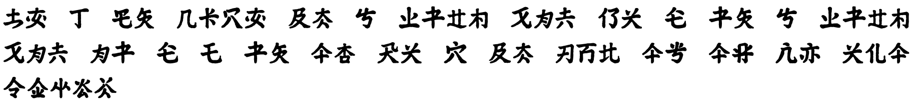
[illegible] ‹ai› [illegible] ‹ui› [illegible] ‹oi› [illegible] ‹ei› [illegible] ‹ii› [illegible] ‹i›. This converb indicates the order in which the action happened: ‘then, after that’. After back vowels it is [illegible] ‹ai›, after [u] it is [illegible] ‹ui›, after [o] it is [illegible] ‹oi›. After other vowels it is [illegible] ‹ei›, [illegible] ‹ii› or [illegible] ‹i›.

[illegible] ‹ai›:
[illegible] ‹kẻ.d.ha.*ai*›
‘having been buried, after he was buried’

[illegible] ‹ei›:
[illegible]
‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ z.iaŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.*ei*›
‘having been granted the honorary title of senior bulwark general of the state 輔國上將軍.
[illegible] ‹ii›:
[illegible]

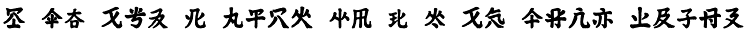
‹ca.aŋ ś.iu ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ p.o.ju:*ii*, s.i oŋ dem.le.ge.er›
‘Having been promoted to [the position of] right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞相, he was granted the title of prince of Ji 濟王’.

 ‹oi›

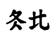


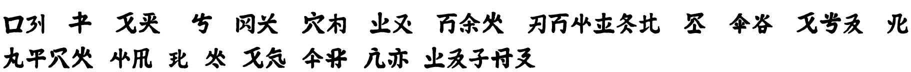
‹eu.úr TWENTY FOUR:de ku.kȧ.û.ur o.*oi* doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí cú.i; TEN ai:de, doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí a.*ai*, TEN ONE ai:de s.uni DAY.i nai o.*oi*, rėn.ei.ii s.iau s.iaŋ g.ün i.ri:se t.em.le.g.er›
‘At the age of twenty four, he became a palace attendant 近侍 and a court attendant in the bureau of ceremonies and seals 印牌司. In the tenth year, he was in the bureau of ceremonies and seals. In the eleventh year, he was given the titles of night and day guard 宿直官 and junior general 小將軍’.

 ‹ui›

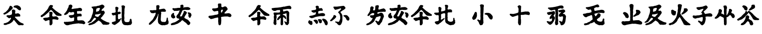


‹tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.*ui* l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün p.o.ju.b.ún›
‘[He was appointed] junior preceptor 少師 of the crown prince 太子 and concurrently appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger brigade 龍虎衛上將軍’.

4.37 The converb in  ‹-s.ii›



‹qi.hu ai ś.an doro COMPOSE.i nai:en po.mo ei.qu.ui rėn.ei.le.ha.*as.ii*, tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh mú.ul.û.ui l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün p.o.ju.b.ún›
‘That year new regulations were composed determining official ranks, and as a result, he was appointed senior general of the dragon and tiger guard 龍虎衛上將軍 and junior preceptor of the crown prince 太子少師’.



‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ii yủ.ur ai, s.in oŋ:on tu.ur:*s.ii*, SOUTH WEST jau tau p.o.ju.l.er›
‘In the first year of the Tonghe 統和 reign period, as a result of the death of the prince of Qin 秦, (or: after the death of the prince of Qin), he was appointed the bandit suppression commissioner 招討 of the south west’.

[Khitan small script]

‹ún.e ei.qú.ui x.ui.ri.s.ii, ún.yỏ TWO:en ś.ian p.o.ju.ii, l.aŋ go.ci ku.ud.û.ui rẻŋ.én.er x.i.cẻn □.ún›

'Now, as a result of his visit (?) [or: after he returned] the appearance was like new, the corridors and buildings were high like towers; he was very happy'.

[Khitan small script]

‹de.po hó.le.bo.ń yủ.úr ai m.o doro:er u.úr.l.e.*s.ii*, hur.ó.un kẻ.t, dź.iau w.u da.ai s.iaŋ d.em.le.ge:er›

'In the first year of the Huangtong 皇統 period, after a great ceremony [was conducted] … he was awarded the title of senior general for the glorification of the army 昭武大將軍'.

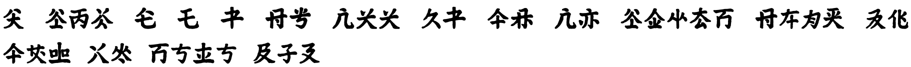
4.38 Converbs in context

[Khitan small script]

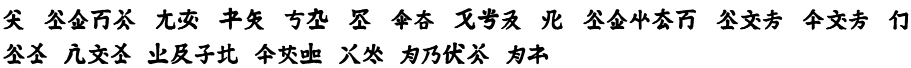
‹ń.iau.ń.ún SIX m.o hó.le.b.ún ś.a.rí eu.úr FIFTY ONE b.û.úr *a.ai*,
dz.úr.er te.bu.ei.er pu m.a HEAVEN as.ar hoŋ t.i.i neu.e mo.n dz.úr.er bo.qo, s.i g.ui g.uŋ dz.iú.un rí.l.ún.
Hu.ur.er u.úr û.er z.iaŋ g.ün eu.úr FORTY SEVEN, ún.e z.iaŋ g.ün p.o.gỏ.l.ún ún.e mú.ul.û.ui *a.ai*,
t.ur.er s.en ś.a.rí eu.úr THIRTY NINE ku.kả x.ui us.g:en ui:de *giỏ:ai,*
t.ad.o.ii t.em.er ś.a.lí eu.úr THIRTY FIVE b.û.úr *a.ai*,
SIX:er dz.bu.qu ś.a.lí eu.úr THIRTY TWO ku.kả û.ui ja.aŋ us.g:de *giỏ:ai*›…

'There were six siblings; the eldest, *Olibun 訛里本, court attendant, age fifty one, was present [at the funeral],
The second, *Dabuye, son in law of the emperor 駙馬, the second son of the Qingning emperor and the earth mother (empress), accompanied by the princess of the state of Qi 齊国公主…
The third, *Uru, a general, age forty seven, promoted to general of the guards 衛將軍…

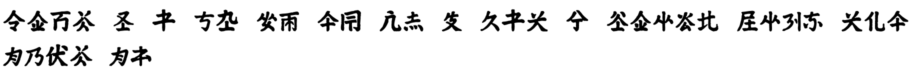
The fourth, *Asin 阿信, court attendant, age thirty nine, palace attendant 近侍, responsible for written matters (Hanlin academician) was present;
The fifth, *Temei 特每, court attendant, age thirty five, was present;
The sixth, *Jabu, court attendant, age thirty two, palace attendant 近侍, in charge of written matters (?) was present…'



‹HEAVEN d.iu.er TEN ONE ai b.iau g.i.i da.ai s.iảŋ g.ün d.em.le.ge.*ei* bo.ra.a.an u.úr s.y.iên x.uŋ ei.al.ha.al o.ju.ún›
'In the eleventh year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period, he was awarded the title of senior general of the cavalry 驃騎大將軍, and appointed to the position of master of court ceremonial 宣徽 in the right administration 右院.'



‹HEAVEN d.em.ei.er yů.ur ai:de al.194 tai z.ï ś.iau.u sh d.em.le.ge.*ei* d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm p.o.ju.ii s.y.iên x.uŋ a.am.iń.er a.ar›
'In the first year of the Tianjuan reign period 天眷, he was given the honourary title of *taizi shaoshi* 太子少師, was appointed chief inspector of the palace command 殿前都點檢 and had at the same time [the position of] master of court ceremonial 宣徽'.



[HEAVEN] t.em.ei.er TWO YEAR al.194 ŋ.in s.in g.oŋ lu da.a.ai pu d.em.l.*ii*; KNOW.le.hu.ad i.r:se a.am.iń.er a.ar›
'In the second year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period , he was awarded the honorary title of *yinqing guanglu daifu* 銀青光祿大夫. He had at the same time (?) the title of administrator'.



‹d.em.ei.er THREE ai:de al.194 d.ei z.in d.em.le.ge.ii, ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ ka.an g.ui g.uŋ p.o.ju.bun›
'In the third year of the Tianjuan 天眷 reign period, he was 'specially advanced 特進' and was appointed right assistant director of the imperial secretariat 尚書右丞 and duke of the state of Han 韓國公'.

[Khitan script]

‹ún.n mu.u.j:en NINE FIVE de o.dź.*ii* ś.o pu pu.u ś.o t.em.le.ge.*ei* b.as l.iá.ah sỉ.i u.úr.le.ge.ń dả nai:en i.ri t.em.le.gi m.in:de giỏ.*ai* pu ś.o t.em.le.ge.*ei* ii.a.an i.ri tir.mo.le.ge.*ei* w.u s.iŋ:en bi.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm p.o.gỏ.l.i mú.ul.û.ui a.*ai*›…

'The current emperor having acceeded to the imperial throne 九五, he was granted the title of *shuaifu fushuai* 率府副率. Several officials were granted the title *fu shuai*… He was promoted to the position of military commandant of Wuqing 武清兵馬 and director in chief 都監'

4.39 The converb in [Khitan script] ‹al›

[Khitan script]

‹TEN THREE YEAR:de s.i x.iŋ pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh p.o.or. THAT YEAR l.i.in g.ui.iń g.u.iń o.ORDU.u.un cau.úr c.ii.én c.as.a.iú a.ha.*al*, o.ORDU.u.ur:en cau.ji hur.ú nai:d deu.úr KNOW.er›

'In the thirteenth year, he became the deputy palace commander 副宮使 of the Jiqing 積慶 palace. In that year, having been appointed to the *jasa* 閘撒 of the armies of the jade *ordo* of […], he was also chief official in control, associate administrator 同知 and campaign commander 都統 of the armies of the *ordo*'.

[Khitan script]

‹deu le.bủ.uh.iń ku.uŋ.úr tai sh du g.iu.uŋ sh a.ha.a.*al*, ś.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un a.ai, t.ie.êm:d g.ie.êm:d deu.er n.ui kú.u ni.qo ś.au.a hur.ú KNOW.er›

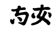
'The younger brother, Lubuh 魯不古 Kungur 控骨里, having been made senior preceptor 太師 and palace commissioner 宮使, was a member of the bureau of court attendants, and *xiangwen*. He was in overall control of managers 點 and supervisors 檢, and also the general administrator of the palace storehouses 内庫 of dogs and eagles 犬鷹'. Note the words [Khitan script] ‹ńi.qo› 'dog' and [Khitan script] ‹ś.au.a› 'eagle', which are also in the *Liaoshi*.

4.40 The converbs in [Khitan script] ‹ci› and [Khitan script] ‹ji›

[Khitan script] ‹ci› and [Khitan script] ‹ji› appear to mean 'after'

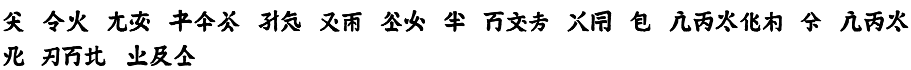
[Khitan script]

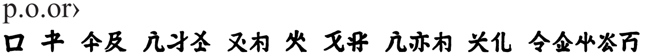
‹ta.aŋ ki.ên l.iŋ x.ui:*ci* g.iu.uŋ, t.ie.ên ei.iú.cẻn p.u.ui.i dau.iń ho.le.hu:er›
‘After he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang, the halls were dilapidated…’

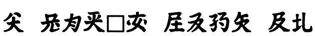

‹em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo êm.*ci*, x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún›
( ‹em:en› ‘local’;  ‹ai:d› ‘officials’  ‹deu.úr› ‘together’)
‘After he drank wine with the local officials, he happily returned.’
(州之諸官，同酒飲高興地歸)
 ‹s.i. g.iŋ.de x.ui.*ci*›
‘After he arrived at Xijing [the western capital]’.


‹HEAVEN d.iu.rẻn TWO ai nai MONTH:de l.û oŋ:on u.un ei.eu.*ji*, ý.e g.ui oŋ d.em.le.ge.er›
‘In the first month of the second year of the Tiande 天德 reign period, when he was the prince of Lu 魯王, he was given the honorary title of prince of Yue’.

4.41 Finite verbs and converbs in context


‹HEAVEN t.ud yů.úr ai.s:er ja.aŋ m.in d.un mu ei.ie.ên x.iŋ THREE g.iu.uŋ.ur:en fu g.iu.uŋ sh rẻn.ei.ii p.o.or›

‹HEAVEN t.ud SEVEN ai:de □eu.j ei.ei.ên x.i.iŋ g.iu.uŋ:un du g.iu.ud sh p.o.or›

‹qi ai s.o g.ia.iam m.en ui ś.iaŋ g.ün:en i.ri te.em.le.ge.ei›

NINE ai:de bo.ra.ia.an u.ur ś.a.rí:d s.êŋ.un p.o.ju.ii

‹HEAVEN REGION.a.an □.ur KNOW.u.ji:de o.ho›
‘In the first year of the Xianyong 咸雍 reign period, he served as deputy palace commander 副宮使 of the Zhangming, Dunmu and Yanqing palaces. In the seventh year of the Xianyong reign period period … he was transferred to the position of chief palace commander 都宮使 of the Yanqing 延慶 Palace. He was appointed *bushisi* 部署司 [head of a superior prefecture] and associate administrator 同知. That year, he was awarded the title of general of the left guards 左監門衛. In the ninth year, he became a

court attendant in the right division 右院郎君 and *xiangwen* 詳穩. He was made general administrator of the border areas.'

4.42 Verbal nouns in vowel + [n]

Verbal nouns, which can also be used as adjectives, have the suffixes 出 ‹án› following stems with back vowels, 当 ‹én› following stems with front vowels, 肉 ‹ón› following stems with rounded vowels and 叐 ‹ún› following stems ending in a consonant. 公 ‹n› and 伏 ‹ń› are also found.

佣当 天 ‹BORN.ér DAY›
'birthday'
乇 亟 天矢 佣当 ‹TEN EIGHT DAY.de BORN.ér›
'she who was born on the eighteenth day' (note: the suffix 当 ‹ér› indicates the subject is feminine)
乇 佣与 列冬亏 才条
‹ONE BORN.*én* hu.as.al GOOD FORTUNE›
'the disasters and good fortunes of life [what one is born into]'
又 夹行炎 及子亚平 力冬亚出 兮 叔北穴药
‹GREAT xo.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai, *na.as.ha.án* doro k.ii.û.ji›
'the great catalpa palace 梓宮 [the coffin of an emperor] having been closed, this was called the ceremony of laying to rest'.
公乍矢 盂九当 冈为本 盂九当 令勺
‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.a.ar, RECORD.g.én te.gu›
'The incription on the tomb was composed. The inscription says:'

4.43 Verbal nouns in 舟伏 ‹bo.ń›

乖 穴 芀化舟伏 药 乂火化舟伏 天 令久北 业同 孔気 兆 乂化 令企万
‹HUNDRED nai:en cu.ur.bo.ń ji:en x.ui.ri.bo.ń DAY t.uh.ii p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh:en i.ri t.em.ei›
'The hundred officials (officialdom) … assembled (?). On the day they arrived… he was awarded the title of manager of affairs 平章事'.

4.44 Verbal nouns and adjectives in 列 ‹hu› 九 ‹gi› 北 ‹ho›

列 ‹hu› follows back stems, 九 ‹gi› follows front stems, 北 ‹ho› follows stems with back rounded vowels.

久亚本及子列 天 岁叐 仐古卡 不为出
‹da.ha.ar o.ju.*hu* DAY 292.u s.eu.kȧ on.a.án›
'on the day [the tomb, the coffin] was closed, sweet dew fell'

掩閉日,甘露降
付为关 付为 又雨 伞生及扎 立
‹bo.qo:i bo.qo min se.bu.o.*ho* qa›
'his grandson, our succeeding khan …'

4.45 Copula: 业及 ‹p.u› ~ 付及 ‹b.u› 'to be' (是)

几火伏 丞付村 公本 业及
‹ku.uŋ.iń tai.bo:en ne.ra p.u›
'This is the tomb of Kongning 孔寧 *taibao* 太保'.
本化火 付为 伞升 几火 付及
‹c.ur.er bo.qo s.iaŋ g.uŋ b.u›
'He was the second son, his excellency 相公'.
令币及肉 尔火 付及
t.ód.u.ón aú.ui b.u›
'She was the fifth royal lady 娘子'.

4.46 Copula: 丙 ‹ei› 'to have, to exist' (有)

丙令 付列出 圣 又今夫 火平廾及肉 刘丞 力业出火村 伏为 丞 兆村 付为 伞几券 本尖 友矢 及平杰当 乌夫 令金丙当 曲令 丙文
‹mó:t bo.hu.án TWO m.ó.qu x.ul.u.o.ón, bú:d na.ha.án:er:en ńi.qo tai sh:en bo.qo se.g.e ci.ŋ tzi:de u.ul.ge.én YOUNG.qú t.em.ei.én go:t ei:ie›
'There were two daughters; the eldest was *Hulun, who married the recipient of edicts 乘旨 *Sege, who was the son of the preceptor 太師 *Niqo of the external (Xiao) maternal uncles; the youngest, *Temen 特免 is still at home (i.e. has not yet married)'.

伞升 几亦 丙令 业本 包 …包 丙令村 火平 丙文
s.iaŋ g.ün mó:t p.ar THREE … THREE mo:t:en x.an ei.ie;
本化火 芀火圣[=圣?] 廿 劣 丙 几 土攵伏关 令业叉 尔火 业亦伞 丙文
c.ur.er cu.uŋ.□ ss tu mo ku eu.uh.ńi.i t.iên.ún aú.ui p.úr.s ei.ie;
列化火 兮秀夯 廿 劣 丙 几 秀关 屶 犸 尔火 …
hu.ur.er pu.is.ên ss tu mo ku is.i 091 ji aú.ui …
令币及扎 兮平伏 雨 立平 乖 乇 丙 几 业才半 伏行欠伏 兮秀伏 业亦伞 丙文
t.od.o.ho pu.ul.iń sỏ qa.an jau tau mo ku iên.ia.ai ńi.mú.qó.iń pu.is.iń p.úr.se ei.ie;
灰火 立为 列为 兆及 付及 丙 几 土攵伏关 子余 兮秀伏 业亦伞 丙
SIX.er qa.a hu.a xu.u b.u mo ku eu.uh.ńi.i ju.qu pu.is.ń p.úr.se iu;
六升火 伞为乃伏 丞关尖 几券 伞升 几火 丙 几 力业出火村 不业 兮秀伏 业亦伞 丙

da.ló.er s.a.am.iń d.i.ŋ g.e s.iaŋ g.uŋ mo ku na.ha.án.er:en ha.le pu.is.iń p.úr.se iu…

'His excellency 相公 had three wives and secondary wives 妻室. The three wives were all present … the second (son), □ *situ* 司徒, his wife was *Eugni, royal lady 娘子 were present; the third □ *situ* 司徒, his wife lady *Isi, royal lady 娘子 … the fifth son, *Fulunhan (?), bandit suppression commissioner 招討, his wife Mme. □, were present; the sixth son, *Haga, of the *hubu* 戶部, his wife Mme. *Eugni *Jugu (?) was not present (no longer living); the seventh, his excellency 相公 *Sami *Dinge, his wife, lady *Hale [of the lineage of] the maternal uncles 國舅, was not present (no longer living)…'.

4.47 The copula: 丙 ‹iú› 'not to exist, to die (無)'

[Khitan script]

‹c.úr.er ORDO.le.ha.a.án aú.ui na.ha.an se.bu.ha.ai s.aŋ g.ün:de u.ul.ge.ei eu.ur THIRTY xa.is:de *iu*. hur.én aú.ui eu.ur TWENTY FOUR:de ur.u a.ar.ún ho:de *iu*›.

'The second, *Otelan, royal lady, married general *Sabali of the lineage of the maternal uncles. At the age of 30, she died. The third royal lady, aged twenty four ---- died.'

[Khitan script]

‹t.em.én aú.ui ia deu:un n.o.or:er ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.ur TWENTY NINE *iu*.
ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar mo ia deu:úr û.dû ai:en g.uŋ ś.i du g.ia.am:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.úr THIRTY FOUR.ur *iu*›

'*Temen 特免, royal lady 娘子, was married to *No'or, court attendant 郎君 of the lineage of the elder younger brothers. She died at the age of twenty nine. Madame *Otela was married to *Udu (?) of the lineage of the *zhongfufang* 仲父房, who had the title of *gong shi du jian* 宮使都監. She died at the age of thirty four'.

[Khitan script]

‹mo bo.qo ONE pu.kå.x.én aú.ui zở.qo na.ha.an dzi.bu.gu ś.a.rí:de û.ul.ge.ei eu.ur TEN EIGHT:de c.ar *iu*›

'There was one daughter, the royal lady *Pu…, who married *Jibugu, court attendant, of the lineage of the younger maternal uncles. She died some time ago, at the age of eighteen'.

[Khitan script]

‹m.o t.iu.rẻn.iń ś.áŋ pu s.úŋ oŋ car.a bo.qo ONE♂ qudug.iń jau tau l.iŋ g.uŋ te.bu.ei.er p.úr.s iu. c.ur.ér ńi.mú.qó.ń di.î.in g.ün oŋ hu.an.u p.úr.se *iu*›
‘The eldest was *Diuren (Jiulin 糺林), *shangfu* 尚父, prince of 宋 Song [whose childhood name was] *Chara 查剌. One son, *Hudugin 胡睹堇, bandit suppression commissioner 招討, lord 令公, *Tabuye 撻不也… died. The second, Nimugun 涅睹袞 *tiyin* 惕隱 (?) *junwang* 郡王, had died’.
[Khitan script]
‹eu.úr TWENTY TWO:de THAT s.em.ii.er *iu*›
‘At the age of twenty-two, she fell ill and died’.

4.48 The copula [Khitan script] ‹a›

[Khitan script] ‹a›, often seen with the converb suffix [Khitan script] ‹ai›, also seems to be a copula: ‘being’.

4.49 Supplement: Reign titles

All of the Kitan reign titles begin with [Khitan script] ‘heaven’ or [Khitan script] ‘great. Many appear to be verbal forms:

(1)	Tonghe	983	統和	government unity	[Khitan script]
(2)	Kaitai	1012	開泰	open prosperity	[Khitan script]
(3)	Taiping	1021	太平	great peace	[Khitan script]
(4)	Jingfu	1031	景福	bright happiness	
(5)	Chongxi	1032	重熙	repeated splendour	[Khitan script]
					[Khitan script]
(6)	Qingning	1055	清寧	clear tranquility	[Khitan script]
(7)	Xianyong	1065	咸雍	together harmony	[Khitan script]
(8)	Dakang	1075	大康	great prosperity	[Khitan script]
(9)	Da’an	1085	大安	great peace Da’an	[Khitan script]
					[Khitan script]
(10)	Shouchang	1095	壽昌	longevity prosperity	[Khitan script]
(11)	Qiantong	1101	乾統	celestial government	[Khitan script]
(12)	Tianqing	1111	天慶	heaven blessings	[Khitan script]
(13)	Tianfu	1118	天輔	heaven assistance	[Khitan script]
(14)	Tianhui	1123	天會	heaven meeting	[Khitan script]
					[Khitan script]
(15)	Tianjuan	1138	天眷	heaven favour	[Khitan script]
					[Khitan script]
(16)	Huangtong	1141	皇統	august government	[Khitan script]

(17)	Tiande	1149	天德	heaven virtue	关 公丙刃
(18)	Dading	1161	大定	great settlement	关 与圡乃

4.50 Notes on Liao reign titles

(1) Tonghe (983) 統和 'United Peace'. 关 仐生及北 ‹HEAVEN se.bu.o.ho›. 仐生及北 means 'inherit, succeed, follow'.

(2) Kaitai (1012) 開泰 'Open Prosperity': 关 伏屮不公 ‹HEAVEN ńi.l.û.er›. The last two graphs in 伏屮不公 are clear, but the first two are damaged. The left side of 伏 is visible, as is the upper part of 屮 .The meaning of 伏屮不公 ‹ńi.l.û.er› is unknown.

(3) Taiping (1021) 太平 'Great Peace': 又 丙交夂及 ‹GREAT ei.ie.ra.u›.

(4) Jingfu. Not identified.

(5) Chongxi (1032) 重熙 'Repeated Splendour': 关 仐分屮圡为本 ‹HEAVEN ú.dû.le.ha.ar›. Also written 仐分屮圡为本 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar›, 关 米屮圡本 ‹HEAVEN ordu.le.ha.ar› and 米屮圡本 ‹ordu.le.ha.ar›. The meaning of 仐分屮圡为本 ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.ar› is not known. It may be connected with the word 仐分廾及内 ‹û.dû.ó.o.ón›, which appears in the Kitan equivalent of the reign title Da'an, and so might mean 'peace'. ‹ú.dû.le.ha.ar› might be related to the term in the *Liaoshi* glossary 窩篤盌 **o-du-on* 'nourishing (滋息)'. 息 by itself means 'peace, rest'. So the verbal noun form would be 'nourishment' (perhaps 'peace, rest'). 仐分屮圡为本 丁 包 乇 圣 丈 灰 犬矢 佃公
‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.al TWENTY THREE, TEN TWO MONTH SIX DAY.de BORN.er›
'He was born of the sixth day of the twelfth month of the twenty third year of the Chongxi period'.(Hong 6)

(6) Qingning (1055) 清寧 'Clear Tranquility': 关 冬本 ‹HEAVEN as.ar›. 冬本 is found in Xuanyi, where the expression 地清 *di qing* 'the earth is clear' is translated 穴夯 冬本 ‹neu.e as.ar›. 穴夯 neu.e means 'earth', so 冬本 ‹as.ar› must mean 'clear'.
冬本 圣 中 及平 曲公 应圡东 及交屮公丙 本关秃利 杰币 又圡冬 穴公利 舟列出公 关化令 今金屮九 仐东公
‹as.ar TWO ai u.ul go.er qa.ha.ad u.úr.le.ge.ei c.i.is:en oŋ:od mo.ha.as nai:d:en bo.hu.án:er i.ri.se t.em.le.gi se.ra.d›
'In the second year of the Qingning period, in winter, the khan having gathered in the tents, the children of his blood relations, the princes and the

great officials, were granted official titles' The meaning of 仐圥公 ‹se.ra.d› is unknown. (Nu 7-8)

(7) Xianyong (1065) 咸雍 'Together Harmony': 关 今火 ‹HEAVEN t.ud›. 今火 ‹t.ud› is common in the texts. It may mean 'harmony'.

关 今火 九夾 丰仐公 刃気 又雨 公火 半 丙文冇 乂同 包 九丙亽化冇 仐 九丙亽 光 刃丙比 业及仝

‹HEAVEN t.ud yủ.úr ai:s:er ja.aŋ m.in d.un mu ei.ie.en x.iŋ THREE g.iú.uŋ.ur:en fú g.iú.uŋ sh rẻn.ei.ii p.o.or›

'In the first years of the Xianyong reign period, he was promoted to the position of deputy palace commander 副宫使 of the Zhangmin 彰愍, Dunmu 敦睦 and Yanqing 延慶 palaces' (Nu 12-14)

(8) Dakang (1075) 大康 'Great Prosperity': 又 令丙刃 ‹GREAT t.iu.rẻn›. 令丙刃 ‹t.iu.rẻn›, also written 公丙刃 ‹d.iu.rẻn›, means 'virtue'.

尓火 乏文夯伏 丕 乏关雨 舟力关 舟力 又 令丙刃 尸 乇 丈 乇 丕 尺矢 佃当 (Gu 6-7)

‹aú.ui ś.ie.ên.iń tai ś.i:in bo.qo.i bo.qo GREAT t.iu.rẻn SEVEN, FIVE MONTH TEN EIGHT DAY:de BORN:én› (note feminine form in 当 ‹én›)

'Her highness, grandchild of *Shanning *taishi,* was born on the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the seventh year of the Dakang reign period'.

(9) Da'an (1085) 大安 'Great Peace'. 又 仐分廾及内 ‹GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón›. Perhaps 仐分廾及内 ‹ú.dû.ó.o.ón› means 'peace'. See (2) above.

又 仐分廾及内 乇 仐岁夫 伏力 丰 乇 乇 丈 乇 乇 尺 夂冬佘 舟力 仐冇 朩公

‹GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón TEN s.iau.qú ńi.qo YEAR [ai] TEN ONE MONTH TEN FIVE [tau] DAY m.as.qu bo.qo s.en ci:er›

'On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the tenth year, the year of the blue dog 甲戌 of the Da'an 大安 reign period, the eldest son Yixin wrote this'. (Zhixian)

(10) Shouchang (1095) 壽昌 'Longevity Prosperity': 又 仐冇 ‹GREAT s.en›. 仐冇 ‹s.en› means 'longevity'. The common personal name 義新 Yixin (also written 阿信 Axin) is written 仐冇 ‹s.en›; the common "second name" Yixining is written 仐冇伏 ‹s.en.iń›. This suggests a prothetic [i] preceding ‹s.en›.

又 仐冇 乇 丰 乇 丈 丕 尺矢 圡夾 了乇矢 仐金比公

GREAT s.en FIVE YEAR ‹ai› TEN MONTH EIGHT DAY:de eu.úr FORTY NINE♂:de s.em.ii.er›

'On the eighth day of the tenth month of the Shouchang period, at the age of 45, he contracted a fatal illness 病故'.

(11) Qiantong (1101) 乾統 'Celestial Government': [Khitan script] ‹HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho›. One of the meanings of 乾 *qian* is 'heaven', as in 乾坤 *qian kun* 'heaven and earth'. The meaning of [Khitan script] ‹ar.u.o.ho›, also written [Khitan script] ‹ar.ú.o.ho›, is not known. It is possibly connected with the term in the *Liaoshi* glossary 阿魯盌 **alu'on* 'support, assist'. 統 means 'to gather into one, to unite'.

[Khitan script]

‹HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yů.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY YONGFU hu.o.gỏ qa.bu.cẻn ńi.as.ha.a.án doro k.ii.û.ji› (Xuanyi 5-6)

'On the twentieth day of the sixth month of the first year of the Qiantong period, in a ritual they were laid to rest together in the Yongfu tomb'.

(12) Tianqing (1111) 天慶 'Heaven Blessings': [Khitan script] ‹HEAVEN ‹pu.kå.le.ge.er›. [Khitan script] ‹pu.kå.l.e.er› is common in the inscriptions. The phonetic value of [Khitan script] is unknown. ‹kå› is a mnemonic from 卡.

(13) Tianfu (1118) 天輔 'Heavenly Assistance': [Khitan script]. ‹GREAT zů.ge.er›. The meaning of [Khitan script] ‹zů.ge.er› is not known. 輔 means 'to help, to assist'.

(14) Tianhui (1123) 天會 'Heaven Gathering': [Khitan script]. ‹HEAVEN d.iu.er›. [Khitan script] ‹d.iu.er› is also written [Khitan script] ‹d.iu.er›.

(15) Tianjuan (1138) 天眷 'Heavenly Favour': [Khitan script] ‹HEAVEN d.em.ei.er›. [Khitan script] is also written [Khitan script] ‹t.em.ii.er›. [Khitan script] ‹t.em.ei.er› is very common in the inscriptions, it means 'to grant [a title, an honour]'. The Kitan term means 'heaven conferred, heaven bestowed, heaven awarded'. 天 *tian* is 'heaven', 眷 *juan* is 'devotion, solicitude'.

(16) Huangtong (1141) 皇統 'August Government': [Khitan script] ‹te.po hó.le.bo.ń›.

[Khitan script]

‹hó.le.bo.ń SEVEN ai:de, p.iŋ ja.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï p.u.ju.ii, ci.ŋ oŋ d.em.le.ge.er›

'In the seventh year of the Huangtong reign period, he was made *pingzhang zhengshi* (manager of government affairs) and given the title Prince of Cheng'. [Khitan script] ‹te.po hó.le.bo.ń› occurs in the Xiao Zhonggong inscription several times. [Khitan script] ‹te.po›, also written [Khitan script] ‹de.po› is common in the inscriptions; cf. Mo. and Ma. *tob* 'upright'. [Khitan script] ‹hó.le.bo.ń› is a common name. It is sometimes thought to refer to 'imperial lineage'.

(17) Tiande (1149) 天德 ‘heaven virtue’: 关 公丙刃 ‹HEAVEN d.iu.rẻn›. 公丙刃 means 德 *de* ‘virtue’. 关 公丙刃 is a literal translation of 天德.

(18) Dading (1161) 大定 ‘great settlement’: 关 兮圭乃 ‹GREAT doro.ha.am›. 兮 corresponds to 禮 *li* ‘ceremony, rites, seal’.

4.51 Some comments on the word for Kitan

There is a voluminous literature on the origins and meanings of the dynastic names Liao and Jin. Liao is said to be named after the Liao River. Jin means gold, named after the Anchuhu river, **alčun* being the Jurchen word for ‘gold’. However, the matter is not so simple, as can be seen from Chan 1991 and Liu Pujiang 2001. Here we can just add a few comments based on the Kitan script.

The Liao changed their dynastic title four times. From 907 to 938 they called themselves, in Chinese at least, the Great Kitan State. After 938, following the incorporation of the Chinese speaking “sixteen counties”, they changed their name to the Great Liao State. Then in 983, they changed back to Great Kitan State. In 1066 they changed back to Great Liao State, which remained until the fall of the dynasty. For about a total of one hundred years the dynasty was called Kitan, for about one hundred years the dynasty was called Liao. The reasons for this no doubt have their political basis, and need not concern us here.

Liu Fengzhu 2006 compared the titles of the published Chinese inscriptions from the Liao. Sure enough, during the period the “transmitted texts” (the *Liaoshi* and the *Qidanguo zhi*) say the state was called Kitan, the Chinese inscriptions start 大契丹 Da Qidan. When the sources say the state was called Liao, the Chinese inscriptions start 大遼 Da Liao.

Turning to the Kitan inscriptions, Liu made an interesting discovery. When the state was called Kitan the inscriptions start 又 玭刈 买叉 ‹GREAT qid.ún hu.rả›. When the state was called Liao the inscriptions start 又 玭刈 买叉 ‹GREAT hu.rả qid.ún›.

The same applied with the large script. In the periods when the term Great Kitan was used, for example in the *Epitaph of the princess of Yongning prefecture*, the title is 买 早 予 赤 英 宷 刋 国. The first graph 买 is «GREAT» (small script 又), the last graph, 国 is «STATE». 早 予 corresponds to 中央 *zhongyang* ‘central’ (令号分 ‹t.iau.dû›), 宷 刋 to ‘Kitan’ and 赤 英 to ‘Liao’ (玭刈 ‹xu.rả›), that is Kitan Liao State. In the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong,* written after 1066, when the state was called Liao, we find the sequence 赤 英 宷 刋 国, that is, Liao Kitan State. The first graphs in the title of the *Epitaph of Xinie* are simply 早 予 内 刈 国 ‘Central Kitan State’. 宷 刋 and

[Kitan] [Kitan] are apparently variants. On the translation [Kitan] / [Kitan] ‹t.iau.dû› as 'central', see below.

There are also other elements, discussed below. Liu came to the conclusion that the problematic [Kitan] was in fact the Kitan word for Liao. The two reign titles could be translated Great Kitan Liao when the Chinese inscriptions refer the the Great Kitan, and Great Liao Kitan when the Chinese inscriptions refer to the Great Liao.

In the small script, Kitan is written [Kitan] ‹qid.ún›. Variants are [Kitan] ‹qid.ún.i› and [Kitan] ‹qid.i›, presumably genitives. [Kitan] 2.365 is apparently a combination of [Kitan] 'great' and [Kitan] 'heaven', which are perhaps derived from 大 'great' and 天 'sky, heaven'. [Kitan] or [Kitan] was used in all the Liao reign titles.

The sequence [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rả qid.ún.i› appears on the canopy of the Daozong inscription. The first graph [Kitan] means 'great'. The second word, [Kitan] appears on the Langjun inscription in the expression [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹dau.úr.ún u.ul› 'mid-winter', so [Kitan] ‹dau.úr.ún› seems to mean 'middle, central'. Luo Fucheng suggested that [Kitan] might mean 'country'. There are four theories as to what [Kitan] might be: **hulus* 'state', **hala* ~ **kara* 'black', **hus* 'strong, strength' and the actual Kitan word for Liao. **hulus* is unlikely: there was no initial [h] in MMo. in this word. **hala* ~ **kara* 'black' is unlikely: there is no evidence in Liao Chinese inscriptions for any such usage. Liu Fengzhu 2006 suggests that Liao might not refer to the Liao river at all, but rather to the basic sense of the character, as in 遼闊 *liaokuo* 'broad, wide'. Liu goes on to point out that the Western Liao did not refer to themselves as 西遼 Xi Liao: this was a Chinese term for them. In Yuan sources, they are called 和剌乞答 **hola kida.* The Karakitai regarded themselves as the continuation of the legitimate dynasty "in exile", and used the name in use at the time of the destruction of their state in the east, Liao Kitan. The word **hola/*hora/*hura* was misinterpreted by Mongol and Turkic speakers as *qara* 'black'. We still do not know what it actually meant. Perhaps it was the Kitan name for the Liao river. Perhaps it does mean 'black', if the Kitans called the Liao river the "black river". Biran 2005:216 has pointed out that the term Karakitai does not appear in Muslim sources before the Mongol invasion of 1218-1220. Biran has also pointed out the problems associated with identifying the term 哈喇 **hala* with Mongol *qara* 'black'. She suggests it is more likely a prestigious term, the original meaning of which had been forgotten, at least in Central Asia.

The Jurchens referred to the previous dynasty as 'Kitan', not Liao. In the Jurchen Victory stele of 1185, the Chinese expression 遼季失道, 腥聞于天 *Liao ji shi dao, xing wen yu tian* 'The Liao lost the Way, the stink was smelled by Heaven' corresponds to Ju. [Jurchen] [Jurchen] [Jurchen] [Jurchen] [Jurchen] [Jurchen] [Jurchen] [Jurchen] [Jurchen] ‹hi.tan GEN □ ACC jugu BURU.we a TA EHE ACC HEAVEN HEAR

SUFF› ‘In the time of the Kitans the Way was lost; its evil was heard by Heaven’. We can see a similar phenomenon in the Kitan sources. The *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong* was written during the Jin. In the inscription we read 九火 杰 买叉关 又 全分廾及内 灰 禾 又化 丰 无 丈 包 买矢 伞公 ‹g.ui oŋ qid.ún.i GREAT ú.dû.ó.o.ón (peace) SIX WHITE HORSE YEAR FIVE MONTH THREE DAY LOC BORN:er› ‘the prince was born on the third day of the fifth month of the sixth year, *gengwu,* in the Kitan reign period Da’an’. Clearly the Jin referred to the previous dynasty as “the Kitan state”, not “the Liao dynasty”.

北 is certainly ‹xu›, as shown in 业用 北 丛 叉気 九亦 ‹l.iúŋ xu ui ś.aŋ g.ün› 龍虎衛將軍 **liunghuwei zianggün* ‘general of the dragon tiger guard’. 攵 177 remains unknown. The presumption that 北攵 is related to Mo. *qara* ‘black’ led to the suggestion **la/ra.* The presumption that it is related to proto-Mongol **hulus* led to the suggested reading **lus.* 攵 is found in the second line of the Jin dynasty *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong*. In Chinese sources, Xiao Zhonggong’s name is given as 术(朮)里者 **julizhe.* His name in Kitan is given in line 2: 子攵券 ‹ju.[ ].e›. (Ji Shi 1996:467). This leads to the suggestion that 攵 is read something like **lij.* This is the origin of the suggested reading **ris* (Aisin Gioro). For the present purposes I have adopted the transcription ‹rå›, more or less on the grounds that Kitan **hura qida/i* could have been interpreted as **hola kida* in the Yuan sources and **qara qita/i* in the Central Asian sources. The differences between **qid, *qida, *qidan, *qidai, *qidun, *qiduni* and so on are also not known, or the reasons for transcriptions such as Marco Polo’s *Catai,* with [a] in the first syllable. For a discussion on the various forms of Kitai/Kitan, see Sinor 1997. The back *ï* after the back *q* in the word ‹qid.ún› may account for the varying transcriptions. A back *ï* could have been interpreted as [ɐ] or [æ], by speakers of languages which did not have this phoneme.

The other elements in the titles on the Kitan inscriptions are also not very clear. The Daozong inscription starts 又 穴交叉 北攵 买叉关 ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i›, with the word 穴交叉 before 北攵 ‘Liao’. This word is generally taken to mean ‘central’, as it occurs in the Langjun inscription in the sense of ‘middle’ (mid-winter), and is regularly translated 中央 *zhongyang* by Chinese researchers. In other inscriptions, such as the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie, the title of the state is 又 令号分 北攵 买关 九交和 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i g.úr:en› ‘Great Central Liao Kitan State (genitive). In the *Epitaph of Yelü Zongjiao*, the title is 又 令号分 买关 北攵 九交和 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû qid.i xu.rå gúr:en› ‘Great Central Kitan Liao State (genitive)’. 令号分 ‹t.iau.dû› replaces 穴交叉 ‹dau.úr.ún›. 令号分 ‹t.iau.dû› is also regularly glossed 中央 *zhongyang*, but it is not known what 令号分 ‹t.iau.dû› means, or why it was used instead of 穴交叉 ‹dau.úr.ún› in certain inscriptions.

The form of words at the beginning of a number of inscriptions is given below. They all have a genitive suffix:

Daozong:	又 尺交叉 北尔 买叉关 ‹GREAT dau.úr.ún xu.rå qid.ún.i›
Yelü Dilie:	又 令考分 北尔 买关 九交村 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Nu:	又 北尔 买关 九交村 ‹GREAT xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Zhixian:	又 令考分 北尔 买关 九交村 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i gúr:en›
Yelü Zongjiao:	又 令考分 买关 北尔 九交村 ‹GREAT t.iau.dû qid.i xu.rå gúr.en›

4.52 Some comments on the word for Jurchen

Liu Zhou Zhao Zhu 1995 noted that in the Langjun inscription, 又 山 九交村 ‹GREAT 山 g.úr.en› corresponds to 大金國之 'of the great Jin state'. 山 clearly means 金 *jin*. In the Bozhou inscription, a Jin period inscription in Kitan, there is a blank space in front of 公关勺 九交村 ‹n.i.gu g.úr:en› and 公关勺 九交矢 ‹n.i.gu g.úr:de›. The second word means 'country, state 國'. Seeing this is a Jin inscription the only word 公关勺 could only refer to the Jin 金. We know that 大金 Da Jin is 又 山. So 公关勺 ‹n.i.gu› must be the Kitan word for Jurchen. Pelliot 1959:216-229 notes that the word *Nüzhen* in Chinese does not appear before the Liao, and it probably derives from the Kitan word for the Jurchens. The Jurchen name for their state was *alčun* 'gold'. Jurchen *alčun*, Chinese 金 and Kitan 公关勺 ‹n.i.gu› all mean 'gold'. The Kitan word for 'gold' is given in the *Liaoshi* as 女古 **nügu*, which must be the Chinese transcription of 公关勺 ‹n.i.gu› 'gold'. So it seems that 公关勺 is 金 *jin*, Ju. *alčun* 'gold' read **nigü,* and is the Kitan word for both 'gold' and 'Jurchen'.

The *Qidanguo zhi* notes: 地有二水 … 曰裊羅個沒里, 復名女古沒里者, 又其一也 "there are two rivers… one called *niao-luo-ge-mo-li*, the other called the *nü-gu-mo-li*. In fact they are the same". The *niao-luo-ge* was the Kitan name for the river known in Chinese as the Huang river 潢河. So *niao-luo-ge* must mean 'yellow' (潢 = 黃). Liu Fengzhu 1983 thinks both 裊羅個 *niao-luo-ge* and 女古 *nü-gu* mean 'yellow'. In the *Liaoshi* glossary, we read: 金曰女古: "金 *jin* 'metal' or 'gold' is called *nügu*". The river is now called the 西喇木倫 Xilamulun, Mo. *Sila mören* 'yellow river'. In pre-Tang times, it was called 饒樂水 the Raoleshui river, 弱樂水 the Ruole river and the 如洛瑰水 the Ruluogui river. After the Tang it was called 裊羅個木里 *niao-*

luo-ge-mo-li, 女古木里 *nü-gu-mo-li.* These are different transcriptions of the same name. The first syllable should be something like **nyu*. The second syllable should be **lak* or **lo*, and the third syllable should be something like **gu* or **gui*. It is difficult to account for the *r/l implied by the earlier inscriptions, and for the -r- in forms like *Jürčid,* unless we presume a form like**nirugu* and a reading like **urgu* for 勺 .

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KITAN LARGE SCRIPT

> Shence, fifth year: spring, first month, *yichou* day: work began on the creation of the Kitan large script. Ninth month, *renyin* day: the large script was completed. It was implemented by imperial edict. - *History of the Liao Dynasty, Annals of Taizu*.

> By the reign of Abaoji, several smaller neighbouring states had been subdued and annexed. He employed many Chinese, who taught them how to write by altering characters in the clerical script, adding here and cutting there. They created a script of several thousand characters, replacing the contracts made by making notches on wood. - *New History of the Five Dynasties. Appendix on the Four Barbarians.*

5.1 The nature of the Kitan large script

Almost all research on Kitan has been done on the texts in the small script. The Kitan large script has been even more impenetrable. The underlying language is the same, and the general contents of the inscriptions are the same. Progress in reading inscriptions in the small script, and recent archaeological discoveries, have provided certain insights into the large script. The large script is often said to be "logographic", but it appears to be much the same mixture of logographs and phonograms as the small script. The major difference is that the large script has a separate graph for every syllable in the language, whereas the small script analyses the syllables into two parts. So the graph 国, derived from 國 *guo* (also written 国), represents the Kitan syllable **gur* 'country, state'. This is written with two separate graphs in the small script: 九夾. Similarly, 亽 «ceu» in the large script is written 朩圡 ‹c.eu› in the small; 具 «gon» in the large script is written 九不 ‹g.on› in the small. 午 «iri» 'name' in the large script is written 关化 ‹i.ri› in the small. Some graphs in the large script are similar to small script graphs, but have different meanings or readings. 午 «iri» 'name' in the large script resembles 午 (of unidentified sound and meaning) in the small; 夾 «pu» (perhaps [fu]) looks like the small script 夾 ‹ur›. 冬 «u'ul» 'winter' is clearly from Chinese 冬 'winter', and is written in the small script with two symbols: 及平 ‹u.ul›. However, **u'ul* also meant 'to marry [of a woman]', and this word is also written with the large graph 冬. **namur* 'autumn' is written 禾 in the large script (derived from

Chinese 秋‘autumn’), and can be considered a logograph: the corresponding form in the small script was written with phonetic graphs: 公乃夾 ‹n.am.úr›. Some of the large graphs were used in the Jurchen script: 炎 «lu» ‘dragon’ and Jurchen 岁竿 *mudur* ‘id.’; 乖 ‘year’ and Jurchen 犿 *aniya* ‘year’. Both ‘father’ and ‘year’ are written 乖 in the large script, as both are written 朩 in the small. It is probable that there are more logographs in the large script than the small. The inspiration for the more analytical nature of the small script may have come from Uighur “technologists of writing”, or from the Chinese rhyme tables.

5.2 Sources

According to *Liaoshi* 64, the large script was invented in 920 and the small script in 924 or 925. The earliest extant text in the large script is the *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning* 耶律延寧墓誌, dated 987. The inscriptions discovered so far are:

(1) Jing’ansi 靜安寺. The *Jing’an Temple Stele* 靜安寺碑 (1072). This stele has an inscription in Chinese on one side, and a damaged inscription in the Kitan large script on the other. The Chinese text was published in 1881, and edited in Yamashita 1935. Wittfogel and Fêng, 1949:243 noted, “No illumination can be gained from an inscription, *Ching-an Ssŭ Pei,* which seems to be composed in Ch’i-tan… The symbols used are simpler than those found in the Liao imperial mausoleums, but the epigraph as a whole is too seriously damaged to admit of any definite conclusions”. Those comments are still valid.

(2) Gutaishi 故太師. The *Gu Taishi Inscription* 故太師銘石記 (1056). This was discovered in an antique shop in Shenyang (Inaba 1939).

(3) Xigushan 西孤山. The *Xigushan Inscription,* also known as the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong* 蕭孝忠墓誌 (1090). Liu Qian 1956; Yan Wanzhang 1957.

(4) Paolu 袍魯. *Xiao Paolu muzhiming* 蕭袍魯墓誌. *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu*. Feng Yongqian 1983; Feng Yongqian 1988; Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(5) Beidawang 北大王. *Beidawang muzhi* 北大王墓誌 *Epitaph of the Great Prince of the North* (1041). Ma Junshan, Liu Fengzhu 1983; Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(6) Yanning 延寧. *Yelü Yanning muzhi* 耶律延寧墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning.* Liu Fengzhu 1998b.

(7) Xinie 習涅. *Yelü Xinie muzhi* 耶律習涅墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie.* 37 lines, 1608 characters. Jin Yongtian 1991.

(8) Yongning 永寧. *Yongningjun gongzhu muzhi* 永寧郡公主墓誌 *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture.* 36 lines, 1486 characters, of which 7 are illegible. Liu Fengzhu, 2003.

(9) Qi 祺. *Yelü Qi muzhi* 耶律祺墓誌 *Epitaph of Yelü Qi*. 46 lines, 2845 characters, plus 88 illegible ones. Liu Fengzhu 2006.

(10) Duoluoliben 多羅里本. *Duoluoliben langjun muzhiming* 多羅里本郎君墓誌銘 *Epitaph of *Duoluoliben*. Cong Yanshuang, Liu Fengzhu, Chu Jianxue, 2005.

(11) Changyun 昌允. *Yelü Changyun muzhiming* 耶律昌允墓誌銘 *Epitaph of Yelü Changyun.* Liu Fengzhu 2004.

(12) Tianchao 天朝. The *Tianchao wanxun* 天朝萬順 coin. Wang Qing and Liu Fengzhu 1981.

(13) Yingli 應曆. The *Yingli Stele* 應曆碑. A rubbing of this inscription was found by Jia Jingyan in a Beijing antiquarian bookshop. The location and origin of the original inscription is unknown. The text was published in 1998. This stele was thought to date from the Yingli reign period (951-969), but is now considered to date from the Dading reign period of the Jin (1161-1190). Liu Fengzhu 1998.

5.3 Early research (until 2000)

The *Liaoshi* clearly states that the Kitans had two scripts. The first, the large script, was created on the basis of the Chinese “clerical script” with some modifications. The other, the small script, was said to have been invented in 926, and was created after contact with Uighurs. Both scripts were used throughout the Liao, and well into the Jin, but both were lost by the early Yuan. The only examples in Chinese sources were five characters recorded by the Song ambassador Wang Yi 王易 in his 燕北錄 *Yanbei lu* [A record of the lands north of Yan]. These were said to correspond to Chinese 朕 *zhen*, 敕 *zhi*, 走 *zou,* 馬 *ma* and 急 *ji*, and were later reproduced in the Yuan

compilation on the history of scripts, the *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀.

After the discovery of the Liao tombs at Qingling, and the identification of the script as being identical with the Langjun inscription in Xi'an, there was a certain amount of discussion as to whether this was the large script or the small script, but there was no evidence one way or the other. In 1939, an inscription was discovered in an antique shop by Inaba Iwakichi. Inaba realised that the script was Kitan, but not of the type found in the Qingling inscriptions, nor was it Jurchen. Li Wenxin 1942 published photographs of the inscription, but they were very unclear. Li argued that the inscription was a forgery, made up of regular Chinese characters, distorted characters, and some Jurchen characters. In 1951, however, an inscription in a similar script was discovered at Xigushan. This is known as the *Gu taishi inscription*, also called the *Epitaph of Xiao Xiaozhong*. The back of the canopy had a twelve line inscription in Chinese, of which the first two characters in the date are 大安 Da'an, a Liao reign title (1085-1095).

Earlier photographs of the *Jing'an Temple Stele* and the *Gu taishi inscription* were very unclear. The numerals and some other words appeared to be the same as Chinese, as noted in Li Wenxin 1942. The graph for 'year' 乔 was the same as the Jurchen 弃 'year'; 日 'day', 月 'month' and 太后 'empress dowager' were the same as Chinese. Through comparing the dates in the Chinese and Kitan inscriptions, Yan Wanzhang 1957 identified 丙 乔 as 'year of the horse' and 荼 炎 乔 as 'year of the wood dragon'. Toyoda 1963 identified the graphs 冬 'winter' (冬), 夬 乔 'first year', 皁 'monkey' and 光 'chicken'. He also determined that 赤 must be a numeral, but it was not clear which one. Liu 1982 suggested that 夭 丐 must be 大康 Dakang 'reign title'. In retrospect, we can see that because the inscriptions were so few, the rubbings so unclear and the script so unfamiliar, the findings of that time have generally been superseded.

Ma and Liu 1983 finally identified the date on the Xigushan inscription 丕 汎 十 旱 乔 十 五 荼 丙 日 as 重熙十蛇年十五木馬日 *chongxi shi she nian shiwu mu ma ri* 'the wood horse day, the fifteenth day of the second month of the tenth year of the [Heaven] Chongxi period'. This article also concluded that "apart from non-phonetic graphs, there are also phonetic graphs in the Kitan large script". This was an important conceptual breakthrough: the general consensus had been that the large script was logographic.

A new inscription in the Kitan large script, the *Epitaph of Yelü Yanning*, was discovered in 1980. Liu Fengzhu and Yu Baolin, 1984 proposed that the Kitan graphs 亢 伋 太 将 呆 in this inscription correspond to the Chinese title 金五大將軍 *Jinwu da jiang jun* 'senior general of the imperial insignia guard'. Toyoda 1984 identified 光 'chicken', 旱 'snake', 荼 'rat' and 赤 'six'.

The *Epitaph of Xiao Paolu* was discovered in 1956, but not published until Yan Wanzhang 1988. Yan identified 朩 as 'six' and 受 as 'nine'.

Jin Yongtian 1991 proposed that 道 仮 皇 帝 in the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* must correspond to 道宗皇帝 *Daozong huangdi*. Ruan Tingzhuo 1992 identified 光 乙 as 'composed by, 撰', found at the end of inscriptions. Liu Fengzhu 1993 started from the decipherment of the large graph 丑 (also written 五) as 歲 *sui* 'year of age', and identified 九 'thirty', 丕 'forty', 扵 'sixty' and 冬 'seventy'. He also identified 背 'seven'. The article also pointed out that the graphs for 'twenty', 'thirty' and so on were not basic numerals combined with the word for 'ten', as in the small script, but independent graphs. It also identified 丕 来 议 几 as the reign title 乾統 Qiantong.

Toyoda 1995 identified 太 杲 '*taishi* 太師', 太 羽 '*taiwei* 太尉' and 太 申 '*taibao* 太保'. Liu Fengzhu 1996 identified 亼 *zhou* 'prefecture 州' and the title 弌 冋 压 亗 太 亥 米 庄 太 羽 as 金紫崇祿大夫檢校太尉 *Jinzi chonglu daifu jianjiao taiwei*. He also identifed 岔 'enfeoff 封'; 午 'name, title', 斧 乖 'grandfather', 乖 'father' and 亥 仁 'wife'. Liu 1998 is a report on the progress made in the decipherment of the Kitan large script at a conference in Kyoto. He listed all the large graphs which could be determined at that stage. As he was to say later, these barely covered two pages.

5.4 Recent research (since 2000)

The situation was to change with the discovery in 2000 of the *Epitaph of Xiao Xingyan*, in Chinese, and that of his wife, the princess of Yongning prefecture, in the Kitan large script. There is a certain amount of information common to both inscriptions, which has provided a key to deciphering many more large Kitan graphs. In addition, both were relatives of the Shengzong emperor, and some information on them is available in the *Liaoshi.* The following account of the decipherment is based on Liu Fengzhu and Tang Cailan 2003.

From the Chinese epitaph of Xiao Xingyan, we learn that his grandfather was 烏咽里 Wuyanli, who had the title 駙馬大王 *fuma dawang* 'great prince imperial son-in-law', and the official position of 招討使'punitive officer'. He had two wives, 賽哥公主 princess Saige and 鉢國娘子 royal lady Boguo. According to *Liaoshi* 65, the thirteenth daughter of Shengzong was named Saige. Her title was 金鄉郡主 mistress of Jinxiang prefecture*,* and she was later elevated to the title of princess 公主. She married Xiao Tuyu 蕭圖玉. Xiao Tuyu is mentioned in *Liaoshi* 93. He was also called 兀衍 Wuyan, and he was the son of 海璨 Haili, the prime minister of the northern chancellery. In the year Tonghe 19 (1002), he married the princess

of Jinxiang, and was appointed 駙馬都尉 ‘commandant escort [emperor’s son-in-law]’. So Xingyan’s grandfather had three names: Wuyanli, Wuyan and Xiao Tuyu.

Xingyan himself had three wives. The first was the mistress of Yongning prefecture 永寧郡主, the daughter of the prince of Sanhan 三韓大王 and the consort of the state of Han 韓國妃. The *Liaoshi* refers to 合魯 Helu of 三韓郡 Sanhan prefecture. Helu was a nephew of Shengzong and the father in law of Xingyan. There is a short passage about Xingyan in his grandfather’s biography in the *Liaoshi*. He died in Da’an 3 (1088) at the age of 56, so he must have been born in Chongxi 1 (1032). He first became an official in Qingning 4 (1058) at the age of 27. He had one daughter but no sons, so he adopted his nephew Yindishi 夤底石 to continue the family line. His epitaph says he was buried in Xilou 西樓, 30 *li* north of the Huangshui 潢水 river, on the southern side of Songshan 嵩山 mountain, at Panlong Ridge 盤龍崗. Xilou was another name for Shangjing, the supreme capital. The Huangshui is the modern Shiramuren.

The epitaph of his wife, the princess of Yongning prefecture, is in the Kitan large script. It begins 夭 早 币 赤 炎 宷 刋 国. The first graph 夭 is «GREAT» (small script 又), the last graph, 国 is «STATE», derived from Chinese 國 *guo* (also written 国). This is written 九交 ‹g.ur› in the small script. Based on inscriptions in the small script, 早 币 should be ‘middle, central’ (令兮分‹t.iau.dû›), 宷 刋 should be ‘Kitan’ (买关) and 赤 炎 should be ‘Liao’ (兆刍 ‹xu.rå›). The first graphs in the title of the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* are simply 早 币 冎 지 国 ‘Central Kitan State’. 宷 刋 and 冎 지 are apparently variants. 国 ‘state’ is often followed by 谷, which judging by the small script inscriptions, must be the genitive suffix «en» (small script 太).

The next line in the *Epitaph of Yelü Xinie* continues: 兄弟昇旲币乖谷. 昇 is a genitive suffix following stems with the main vowel [i], so «in», small script 丙. 乖 means ‘father’ (also ‘year’) (small script 丰 ‹ai›). So 乖 谷 must mean «ai.en» ‘of the father’ (丰太) that is ‘father’s side of the family 父房’. 旲 币 seems to mean ‘central, middle’. 兄 弟 clearly derives from Chinese 兄弟 ‘brothers’. So 兄 弟 昇 旲 币 乖 谷 must correspond to Chinese 兄弟之仲父房 ‘brothers of the family of the second uncle’, a common expression in Liao inscriptions.

Most of the following graphs in the Yongning inscription cannot be understood, but 回 might be the equivalent of 曲犮 ‹go.er› ‘house, lineage’, so ‘of the lineage of’ and 尘 土 probably means ‘deceased, former, late’. Next is 北 西, Ch. 西北 ‘north west’, with the order reversed, as see in the small script inscriptions. Xiao Xingyan had the title 西北路招討使 *xibeilu zhaotaoshi* ‘punitive officer of the northwestern route’, so 西 买 might mean ‘route, circuit’. 百 五 means 招討 *zhaotao* (弜 乇). 刊 而, which follows *zhaotao,*

might be Xingyan's Kitan name, 訛篤斡 *Oduwo. It is followed by 太 交, Ch. *dafu* 大夫 'grand master'. 昇 is a genitive ending. We then have the word 沓仁 'wife', in the small script 百 几. 攵 is «iŋ»; 夂 攵 伱 攵 is probably Yongning. 夂 corresponds to 丙 ‹ei›. 伱 must be «ń», small script 伏. So 伉 must be «gün», small script 九亦 ‹g.ün›, which transcribes 郡 *gün 'prefecture'. 公 主 is from Ch. 公主'princess'. 尘 寸 朩 must be 銘 *ming* 'text of an inscription'. It is preceded by 罙, which can only be 'tomb'.

We would expect the last line of the title to conclude with the expression 'together with a preface 并序'. In the small script, 序 *xu* is written 北屮屮 ‹ho.le.bun› or 北屮丹伏 ‹ho.le.bo.ń›. The equivalent of 北屮屮 ‹ho.le.bun› in the large script is 赤 川 没 'preface'. 赤 corresponds to 北 ‹ho›; 川 to 屮 ‹l›. 仃 «bun» and 没 «bo.ń» are the equivalents of 屮 ‹bun› and 丹伏 ‹bo.ń›. 凡 呑 朩 must mean 'together with 并'. In the small script 并 is written 朩夯北. 凡 corresponds to 朩 ‹c›.

The *Epitaph of Xingyan* records in Chinese that the couple were buried thirty *li* north of Xilou, that is Shangjing, the supreme capital. In Yongning 25 we find the sequence 壬 皿 京 寺 列 北 乙 丟. 京 is 京 *jing* 'capital'. 寺 is a locative suffix. 列 is ‹i› (关 ‹i›). 北 is «NORTH» and 乙 is «THIRTY». 丟 appears in Xiaozhong 5, and means *li* 'Chinese mile'. In the large script, 壬 and 皿 are often found together. 壬 皿 京 must mean 上京 *shangjing* 'supreme capital'. In the small script, 上 *shang* 'upper, superior' is written 夂化 ‹u.ur›. We find 壬皿 in Yongning 2. 将 呆 is 將軍 *jiangjun* 'general'. 光 云 must mean 'composed' (冈为朩). 太 光 束 丹 is a transcription of 太原 Taiyuan. 王 «oŋ» is 'king, prince' (ホ). 凡 之 means 'wrote', corresponding to the small script 朩夯 ‹c.er›. 凡 corresponds to small script 朩 ‹c› and 之 corresponds to 夯‹er›. 公 主'princess' is from 公主 *gongzhu*.

This is followed by 午 «iri» 'name' (small script 关化 ‹i.ri›) preceding her name, 丘. In *Liaoshi* 93, the name of Oduwo's wife is given as 骨浴 Guyu. 夆 汞 is 'grandfather', cf. 汞 «ai» 'father'. This is followed by his title, 犀 杏 太 王 *Qiguo dawang* 'prince of the state of Qi'. 杏 corresponds to the small script 九火 ‹g.ui›, from 國 **gui* 'state, country'. This is a borrowing from Chinese, as distinct from the native word **gur*. The grandfather of the princess of Yongning prefecture was 耶律隆祐 Yelü Longyou, the third son of Jingzong. According to *Liaoshi* 64, he had the honorary title of prince of Qi.

This title is followed by a space, which is then followed by 氺 平 尺 皇 帝. The last two graphs 皇 帝 are 皇帝 *huangdi* 'emperor'. The prince of Qi was the third son of the Jingzong emperor, so 氺 平 尺 presumably means 景宗 Jingzong. So 平 is «zu» and 尺 is «uŋ».

The next 5 graphs 灭 沓 住 呇 田 cannot be understood, but they are followed by 卌 'son', cf. Jurchen 厏 'son'. Then we read 犀 杏 太 王 妃, that

is 齊國大王妃 *Qiguo dawang fei* 'consort of the great prince of the state of Qi'. Next is 二 㒸, the genitive form of 'two' (small script: 丞朻). The next graphs 化丙冇 are unknown, but are followed by 吳予卂 'the second of two brothers'. *Liaoshi* 64 tells us Yelü Longyou had three sons: Hudugu, Helu and Tiebu. Princess Yongning's father was Helu 合祿, the second son. The next two graphs, 何 至, may mean 韓 Han. 至 is known to be «an» from other transcriptions. Next are 太 王, 大王 *dawang* 'great prince'. So we can deduce that the word before Han, that is 佚, must be **sam*. 三韓大王 *Sanhan dawang* was the honorary title of the princess' father. Her mother is referred to in the Xingyan Chinese epitaph as 韓國妃 Hanguofei. So 公主佚何至太王妃二㒸 means 'the princess was the daughter of the grand prince of Han and royal consort Wang'.

The date 叁汎二𠂢五月三日炎玫 can be translated 重熙二年五月十三日辰時 *Chongxi ernian wuyue shisan ri chen shi* 'at the dragon hour of the thirteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of the Chongxi reign period'. This must be the date of her birth. Chongxi 2 was 1033. The graph 炎 «lu» corresponds to small script 戈 ‹lu› 'dragon'. 弃 is a locative suffix. The next words 灭朩 must mean 'born, to be born'. In the small script, males and females have different suffixes. In referring to Yelü Renxian, Xiao Zhonggong, Yelü Nu, Han Gaoshi, Yelü Hongyong and Yelü Yongning, 'born' is 佣关 ‹BORN.er›. For women, such as the Late Madame Yelü and the wife of Yelü Yongning, 'born' is written 佣当 ‹BORN.én›. We can see the same practice in the large script. The word used with Yelü Xinie and Yelü Changyun is 灭乏, but with princess Yongning, born is written 灭朩. So 乏 corresponds to 关 ‹er› and 朩 corresponds to 当 ‹én›. 丑十亦寺 means 'at the age of sixteen'. 寺 is a locative suffix. 丑 is 屮夾 ‹eu.ur› 'years of age'. 夂夂伱夂伒丑公主曰皿 must mean 'she was made princess of Yongning prefecture'. 曰皿 corresponds to 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› 'to be made, to become'. 曰 «po» corresponds to 业及‹p.o› and 皿 «or» to 仝 ‹or›.

In line 7 we read 光印杏㖿公主. 杏 means 'state', so 光印 should be the name of one of the states used in Liao honorary titles, but it is not known which one. The emperor's aunts (the sisters of his father) were called 大長公主 *dazhang gongzhu* 'princess supreme' (the standard designation of the paternal aunt of the emperor), so 㖿公主 may be the Kitan equivalent of this term. This is followed by 二㒸吳予卂, which means 'the second son of the two people'. 灰卉朩 is unknown, perhaps a name or title. 弃卒 corresponds to 'prime minister'. 冬巾 must mean 'married to', that is that she married the prime minister. As in the small script inscriptions, the verb 'marry' is preceded by a name with a locative suffix, in this case 寺. In Yongning 8 we read 百五寺冬巾 'she married the 招討 *zhaotao.*' Note that 'winter' 冬

«u’ul» is used phonetically in the word for ‘to marry’, written in the small script 仐平 ‹ú.ul-›.

Towards the end of the inscription there are several dates. 身月廿夾日寺 ‘on the twenty eighth day of that month’, and 身月廿爻日寺 ‘on the twenty ninth day of that month’. This is followed by 王 皿 京 寺 刖 圵 十 岳 ‘ten *li* north of the supreme capital’. This must refer to the date when her coffin was transferred to the place of burial. Then we have 夭 岡 夾 而 曰 乖 三 月 荼 曰 牛 赤 至 沒 二 荼 党 日 元 允 二 玹, which corresponds to 大安八壬申年三月甲申朔二乙酉戌亥二時 ‘at the second hour, *xuhai*, the second day of the new month, *yiyou*, the third month, *jiashen,* the eighth year, *renshen* of the Da’an period’. This is the date and time of her burial. The date at the end of the inscription 夭 岡 半 月 十 赤 日 corresponds to 大安七年十月十六日 *Da’an qinian shiyue shiliu ri* ‘the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the seventh year of the Da’an period (1091)’.

Da’an 8 (1092) was a 壬申 *renshen* year. 曰 牛 means 申, which corresponds to ‘monkey’; 业及及 ‹p.o.o› in the small script. The graph 旱 or 牟 means 巳 *si,* which corresponds to ‘snake’, 伏圠及 ‹mu.ho.o› in the small script. So 曰 is 业及 ‹p.o› and 牛 (= 牛 ?) is 及‹o›.

Liu also pointed out that identifying 申 *shen* enables us to understand the date on the Gu Taishi inscription: 丞 汎 廿 五 岢 乖 十 月 廿 二 日. The two first graphs 丞 汎 are 重熙 Chongxi. 廿 五 looks as if it means ‘twenty five’, but according to *Liaoshi* 31 there were only 24 years in the Chongxi period. So 五 should not be understood as meaning ‘five’, but rather its phonetic value [tau]. Chongxi 20 was a 辛卯 *xinmao* year, 卯 *mao* corresponding to ‘rabbit’. So 五 岢 must correspond to the small script 无伆为 ‹tau.lí.a›, where 无 ‹tau› ‘five’ is also used phonetically. In the *Epitaph of Xinie*, the year of the rabbit is written 五 𠂡. Liu suggests 𠂡 is a contraction of 岢, and both correspond to 伆为 ‹lí.a›.

Returning to the *Epitaph of the Princess of Yongning Prefecture*, 二 玹 corresponds to Chinese 二時 *er shi* ‘the second time period’. The graphs preceding it, 元 and 允 must be cyclical terms. The graph 允 is used to transcribe *wei* in 太尉 *taiwei*, so corresponds to the small script 火 ‹ui›, which is also used to write the cyclical term 亥 *hai* ‘pig’. So 元 can only mean 戌*,* which corresponds to ‘dog’.

Several recent discoveries have added to the list of decipherable large graphs. The *Epitaph of Yelü Changyun* 耶律昌允墓誌銘, in the Kitan large script, was discovered together with an epitaph of his wife, 蘭陵郡夫人蕭氏 Madame Xiao, Lady of Lanling, which is in Chinese. Mme. Xiao was responsible for the construction of the Jing’an Temple in 1072, of which the memorial stele is still extant, in the Kitan large script and in Chinese. The

Kitan version is so eroded as to be illegible, but the Chinese text can be read. These three inscriptions are about the same people and events.

Other recently discovered inscriptions in the Kitan large script are the *Epitaph of *Duoluolibun* (Cong Yanshuang, Liu Fengzhu and Chi Jianxue 2005) and the *Epitaph of Yelü Qi* (Liu Fengzhu 2003). Other items in the Kitan large script include a number of coins, an official seal (Liu Fengzhu 2003) and two wooden strips with Kitan large graphs written in ink. (Liu Fengzhu, Ding Yong, Kong Qun, Bai Yu 2006).

5.5 The five elements / five colours

wood	blue	杀	令兮佘	s.iau.qú
fire	red	亢	业兮佘	l.iau.qú
earth	yellow	亰	山, 山	
metal	white	买	禾, 采	
water	black	尙	由叐	yô.u

5.6 The four seasons

autumn	秋	禾	公乃夾	n.am.úr
summer	夏	夏	马火	ju.un
winter	冬	冬	叐平	u.ul
spring	春		介夾	heu.úr

5.7 The four directions

east	東	東	冇
south	南	南	小
west	西	西	十
north	北	北	亠

5.8 The twelve zodiac animals

rat	刋 秀	杀	犬列	
ox	中 米	平	杏	‹uni›
tiger	夊	夷	巫亚冬	‹qa.ha.as›
hare	叒 艮	五 |卜, 五 岦, 杀	无灭为	‹tau.lí.a›
dragon	岁 竿	炎	发	‹lu›
snake	乜 臭	日 屮, 旱	仕扎及	‹mu.ho.o›

horse	仔列	丙, 丐, 丏	义化	‹mo.ri›
sheep	天	开	圣为	‹iam.a›
monkey	乱	口中, 岸	业及 ~ 业及及	‹p.o› ~ ‹p.o.o›
chicken	乇	尧	令为为	‹te.qo.a›
dog	男	孔	伏为	‹ńi.qa›
pig	冬	允	火	‹ui›

5.9 Numerals

	Large script	Small script	Jurchen	Chinese
1	一	乇	一	一
2	二	圣	二	二
3	三	包	三	三
4	廿, 卌	乇	卡	四
5	五	乇	乏	五
6	赤	灰	亍	六
7	并	斥	斗	七
8	籴	丕	癿	八
9	孚	秃	九	九
10	十	乇	千	十
20	廿, 廿	丁	义	二十
30	尢	乇	太	三十
40	丞	了	夲	四十
50~80	太	乙	耍	五十
60	扵	乂	仟	六十
70	冬	门	夕	七十
80	伶		岁	八十
9	玖		土	九十
100	百	孖	有	百
1,000			五	千
	万	及	方	萬, 万

5.10 List of graphs used to write Chinese titles in the large script

This list is based on Liu and Wang 2004:79-88.

5.001 火 [g] ~ [gi] (建 initial) (九)
5.002 柬 [an] ~ [ian] (建 final)
5.003 关 [hiu] (雄 initial)

5.004	文	[uŋ] ~ [iuŋ] (雄 宗 封 農 中 final) (太)
5.005	号	[ün] (軍, 郡 final) (亦)
5.006	节 (芀)	[du] or [ziedu] (度 or 節度)
5.007	呆	[sh] (使師事史)(兆)(呆)
5.008	序	[si] ~ [sin] (晉信習) (序)
5.009	冋	[sï] (慈刺七)(廿)(冋)
5.010	犀	[si] ~ [tsi] (漆西齊)(犀)
5.011	東	[bun] ~ [pun] (汾)
5.012	业	[de] ~ [d] (等 initial)(谷)(令)
5.013	光	[ŋ] (牛 initial, 等 final)(火)
5.014	仌	[ceu] (州) (本土) (仌)
5.015	具	[gon] (觀) (九不) (具)
5.016	司	[ca] (察) (本为)
5.017	乂	[cu] (處)
5.018	之	[ts] ~ [dz] (置知)(ス)
5.019	压	[cuŋ] (崇)(本当)
5.020	岁	[lu] (祿] ‘dragon’ (龍) (Jurchen 岁)(岁)
5.021	岗	[da] ~ [dai] ~ [tai] (大)
5.022	亥	[pu] ~ [fu] (副夫傅府撫)(今)(亥)
5.023	岑	[giam] (檢兼監)(九方)
5.024	库	[gio] (校)(九号)
5.025	太	[tai] ~ [da] ~ [dai] (大太)(太)
5.026	乍	[so] ~ [zo] (左)(令及)
5.027	矣	[sen] ~ [tsien]
5.028	糺	[iu] ~ [io](丙)
5.029	羽	[ui] (衛,尉)(公) (冊)
5.030	兮(半)	[śa] (上 initial) (又)
5.031	当(圭)	[aŋ] (上 sh 江 final)(並, 気)
5.032	将	[siaŋ] (將, 相) (将)
5.033	杀	[c] ~ [cï] (持)
5.034	舟	[sie] ~ [cie] (節) (舟)
5.035	反	[ju] – (諸, 柱)
5.036	仇 (伉)	[gün] (軍,郡) (仇)
5.037	上	[ha] ~ [qa] – (行 initial)(列) (上)
5.038	尚	[aŋ] (行 final)
5.039	秀 (秀)	[jo] (涿)
5.040	化	[nu] (奴); (initial of 内*nuei; final of 農(公及)
5.041	允	[ui] (尉),内 final) ‘pig’, ‘affair’ (火) (允)
5.042	早	[siu] ~ [sü] (巡 initial)
5.043	支	[un, iün, in] 雲 , 尹, 巡 xun (final)(亦)
5.044	至	[an] (安) 韓(final): genitive suffix *–an* (买)

5.045	芚	[dun] (屯)
5.046	天	[ten] (天,田)
5.047	休	[ki]~ [kiu] (勸 initial)
5.048	奠	[ü] ~ [iu]
5.049	伸	[śaŋ] (上)
5.050	杏	[gui] (國) (九火) (杏)
5.051	水	[śui] (水) (又火)
5.052	令	[k] ~ [ka] ~ [ke]開 (叔) (令)
5.053	米	[ai] (開 final): 'father', 'year' (丰)
5.054	公	[guŋ] (公) (九当)
5.055	夫	[šï] (食, 實) (兆)
5.056	東	[bau] (保) (丹丸)
5.057	吾	[ŋu] (吾, 五) (尖及)
5.058	高	[bai] (百)(丹东)
5.059	赤	[xu, xa] 戶, 哈
5.060	央	[shï] (十)
5.061	专	[im] (音)(关又)
5.062	谷	[un] (穩); 'genitive suffix' (火)
5.063	米	[mu] (墓)(又及)
5.064	之	[dzï] (誌)
5.065	夾	'big, great' (大)(父丰)
5.066	尗	used in the word 契丹 'Kitan'
5.067	지 (引)	used in the word 契丹 'Kitan'
5.068	英	[xa] ~ [xu] in (xu-rå 'state')
5.069	国	[gur] 'state, country' (國)(九亦)
5.070	皇	[hoŋ] (皇)
5.071	帝	[di] (父关, 王)
5.072	州	'son' (丹为)(behe) 州
5.073	五	[tau] 'five' used in *zhaotao* 招討
5.074	具	[in] genitive suffix after stems with main vowel [i] (雨)
5.075	玊	[u] in 玊品 «u.ru» 'upper' (上, 院) = (生, 生, 生, 土)
5.076	品	[ru] in 玊品 «u.ru» 'upper' (上, 院) (化)
5.077	京	[giŋ] (京) (九同)
5.078	充	[liu] (留)(小丙)
5.079	守	[śeu] (守) (又去)
5.080	王	[oŋ] (王)
5.081	午	[iri] 'name' (名,號,諱) (关化)
5.082	己	[ś] 壽 (initial) (又)
5.083	乏	[er] in the second syllable of the word 'born'
5.084	式	[gim] (九又) (金)
5.085	岔	[deme-] 'bestow an honorary title' (封)(父又)

5.086 无 ‘dog’ (狗) (伏为)
5.087 寺 ‘goat’ (羊) (古为); also stem 未 *wei*
5.088 五(丑) ‘years of age’ (歲) (去亥)
5.089 条 [gün] (軍)(九亦)
5.090 常 Ch. 黄 *huang* ‘yellow’
5.091 穴 [lu] (龍 initial)
5.092 去 [tuŋ] (同)
5.093 当 [du] (都)
5.094 其 [x] ~ [xi] (興 initial)
5.095 及 [iŋ] (乘, 興, 永, 寧 final) (同)
5.096 坐 [ju] (中 initial)
5.097 买 The first syllable in the Kitan word for 東 ‘east’
5.098 乍 [so] ~ [zo] (左)(令及)
5.099 正 [asa-] in 清 (冬)
5.100 来 [ar] ~ [er] in 阿撒里
5.101 半 ‘seven’; also in 迪烈 Dilie
5.102 斥 [ni] in K. ‘ox’ **uni* and ‘night’ **suni*
5.103 未 [o] ~ [u] 序 ‘preface’ *olibun (訛里本)
5.104 州 [li] ~ [lu] in **olibun* (序朔) (first)
5.105 没(介) [bun] in **olibun*
5.106 仁 [ku] ‘man’ (几)
5.107 岂 [sï] (私)
5.108 母 [is] ~ [isu] ‘nine’ (乔)
5.109 馬(馬) [muri] ~ [mori] ‘horse’ (及化)
5.110 玫 [po] ~ [pon] ‘time’ (Jurchen 玫) (业不)
5.111 岢(小) [li] ~ [la]: second syllable in 无负为‹tau.lí.a› ‘hare’
5.112 化 [de] ~ [te]: first syllable in 特里本 Telibun ‘a name’
5.113 丙 [li]: second syllable of 特里本 Telibun
5.114 吴 [de] ~ [te]: first syllable of 特里本 Telibun
5.115 尿 [bah]: in the names 八十五 Bashiwu and 杷八 Pabae (丹尔)
5.116 百 [jau] ‘hundred’ (= 弼)
5.117 文 [io] ~ [iu] 永 (initial)
5.118 你 [ni] – (寧 initial) (伏)
5.119 凡 [c] ~ [ci] stem of ‘to write’ (本)
5.120 牙 [gia]: in 王家奴. Oŋ Gianu. Also 牙, 牙 and 牙 (九才)
5.121 主 [ju] (主)
5.122 求 [giŋ] (景)(九同)
5.123 乎 [su] ~ [zu] (宗 initial)
5.124 妃 [pi] (妃) (业关)
5.125 伏 [sam] (三)
5.126 何 [ha] (韓 initial)

5.127 口 [po]: ‘monkey’, ‘to become’, 申 *shen* ‘cyclical sign’ (业及)
5.129 丒 [o]: the second syllable in ‘to become’ (成爲) (业及)
5.130 牛 [o]: the second syllable in 申 *shen* ‘cyclical sign’
5.131 早 in 巳 *si* ‘cyclical sign’ also 乎, 早, 羊.
5.132 卅 [teha] 酉 *you* ‘cyclical sign’: 雞 ‘chicken’ (also 芠).
5.133 乐(元) [śa] the first syllable in 沙里 *šari* 郎君 *langjun* (又为)
5.134 舌 [ri]: the second syllable in *šari* ‘court gentleman’
5.135 斥 [so] ~ [zo] (左)
5.136 支 [sêŋ] the first syllable of 詳穩 *xiangwen*
5.137 切 [in] (引): genitive suffix after stems with vowel [i]
5.138 山 [śan] (山) (又买)
5.139 光(火) [tsi] ~ [si] (靜 jing < *cing initial)
5.140 子 [zï] (子, 紫)
5.141 云 [ar] suffix in ‘composed (撰)’. Past tense suffix.
5.142 伐 [pa] In name 杷八 *pabae*. Also transcribes 發.
5.143 荅. [ne] ~ [nie] , in K. name 習涅 (伏)
5.144 斉 [in] ~ [en] (隱, 恩)
5.145 丹 [üe] the medial in 元 and 原 (夾)
5.146 夫 [ś] 帥(initial)(又)
5.147 坐 [oi] 帥 (final)
5.148 仿 [zin] in 夫人. Also 仍, 仿
5.149 平 [piŋ] (平)
5.150 外 [śiŋ] *in* 聖宗
5.151 伋 [zuŋ] *in* 聖宗
5.152 道 [dau] - in 道宗
5.153 县 [gui] (歸)
5.154 由 [xua] (化)
5.155 面 [ni] ~ [nir] *in the name* 習尼里
5.156 可 [yi] *in the name* 拽剌
5.157 倉 [zaŋ] (葬)
5.158 尚 [go] (光 initial)(九)
5.159 重 [lu] (祿) lu (攴)
5.160 北 [ai] (開 final) (七)
5.161 夅 [bu] *in* ‘grandfather’ (生)
5.162 ㄎ [an] ~ [ên] (元 final after medial iü)
5.163 □ 天 ‘heaven’ (Jurchen 夭)
5.164 下 下 ‘under’ (□仃=天下)
5.165 玄 [c] ~ [ci] the first graph in the first word for 都統 (朩)
5.166 朱 [u] the second graph in the second word in 都統
5.167 关 元 *yuan,* 初 *chu* ‘beginning’
5.168 会 [cu] (楚) (朩叐)

5.169 书 [śu] (書) (乏及)
5.170 芮 [li] (理) also 令 (initial) (㐅)
5.171 北 [śaŋ] (尚)
5.172 圶 [iü] *in* 于越 *yuyue*
5.173 岀 [üe] *in* 于越 *yuyue*
5.174 允 [an] genitive suffix after stems with [a] (买)
5.175 与 [ja] ~ [jo] 趙 (initial)
5.176 甲 [siŋ] ~ [tsiŋ] (清) (令同)
5.177 瓜 [nai] ‘head, first’ (in 正月 *zhengyue* ‘first month’)
5.178 夌 jiŋ (鄭)
5.179 丏 [nü] ~ [nio] (女)
5.180 火 [go] (哥)
5.181 否 [ioh] (藥)
5.182 旦 [su] (蘇)
5.183 冄 [dan] in 東丹 ‘Dongdan’
5.184 年 [diŋ] (鼎)
5.185 或 [her] (?) 海里，解里
5.186 亮 印 ‘seal or 禮 ‘ceremony’ (Jurchen 𠆢~乔) **doro*
5.187 佘 [ta] (塔)
5.188 父 [ś] ~ [śa] (少 initial) (乏, 乏为)

5.11 Glossary of basic words in the Kitan large script

5.201 autumn 禾
5.202 award title 岀
5.203 born 关
5.204 chicken 党
5.205 child 卌 (Jurchen 卅千) (卌)
5.206 Chongxi 丕 汎
5.207 Da’an 买 弓 (买 凡 , 买 屠, 买 汎 ,
买屠 , 买 屠)
5.208 Dakang 买 巧
5.209 Daozong 道 仮 皇 帝
5.210 day 日 (Jurchen 日)
5.211 deceased 尘 吝 之
5.212 died 习 之
5.213 dog 无
5.214 dragon 炎
5.215 *dushi* 节 杲
5.216 east 東
5.217 eight 仌

5.218	eighty	伶
5.219	father	乑
5.220	fifty	仌
5.221	first (son)	天 仉
5.222	first year	火 乑
5.223	five	五
5.224	forty	丕
5.225	four	廿, 卌
5.226	grandfather	爷 乑
5.227	*guancha*	具 司
5.228	hare	五 卜, 五 岁, 柔
5.229	horse	丙, 弓, 丐
5.230	hundred	百
5.231	*jiedu fushi*	咨 序 扎 夫
5.232	*jinwu da jiangjun*	元 伋 太 将 杀
5.233	*jinzi chonglu daifu*	元 冈 压 尖 太 女
5.234	*langjun*	元 岳
5.235	Liao	亦 关
5.236	married	冬 咨 扎
5.237	monkey	口 牛, 串
5.238	month	月 (Jurchen 月)
5.239	name	午
5.240	nine	乏
5.241	ninety	玖
5.242	Nirug	肖 田
5.243	north	北
5.244	one	一
5.245	ox	罕
5.246	pig	允
5.247	preface	未 冈 仃
5.248	prime minister	弃 本
5.249	Qiantong	丕 来 设 几
5.250	Qingning	丕 正 来
5.251	Qudug	国 田
5.252	rat	关
5.253	seal	充
5.254	second	伶 扎
5.255	seven	并
5.256	seventy	冬
5.257	sheep	丙
5.258	Shengzong	外 伋 皇 帝

5.259 *shixiang* 杲 将
5.260 *shou taiwei* 守 太 扨
5.261 *shou taizi taifu* 守 太 子 太 夾
5.262 Shouchang 买 巳 沓
5.263 six 赤
5.264 sixty 扵
5.265 snake 日 牛, 𣅜
5.266 south 南
5.267 summer 夏
5.268 *taishi* 太 杲
5.269 ten thousand 万
5.270 ten 十
5.271 that year 身 乖
5.272 third 夅 之
5.273 thirty 九
5.274 three 三
5.275 Tianzi (Taizong) 坖 网 皇 帝
5.276 tiger 夷
5.277 time 玫
5.278 tomb 叉 (叏)
5.279 twenty 廿, 廿
5.280 two 二
5.281 west 西
5.282 wife 夾 仁 (仁 = 仿, 仿, 仿 or 仿)
5.283 winter 冬
5.284 wrote, written 光 厶
5.285 *xiangwen* 将 昇
5.286 *xinan* 南 西
5.287 *yanei* 兊 仛 允
5.288 year 乖 (Jurchen 犇)
5.289 years of age 丑 (also written 五)
5.290 Yelü 戊 王 亐
5.291 *yuyue* 卉 本
5.292 *yuyue* 左 岙
5.293 *zaixiang* 卉 本

CHAPTER SIX

TEXTS IN THE KITAN SMALL SCRIPT

> To conclude: it is still a long way to the heart of the jungle of the Khitan writing system. The Khitan script remains one of the most fascinating problems in the history of writing in the Altaic world, and much hard work needs to be done before we shall be able to read, for instance, the Khitan rhymes in memory of Empress Xuanyi, the poetess who was put to death nine hundred and eleven years ago (1075).- Gy. Kara 1987.

The three texts presented here can represent the present state of decipherment of the Kitan small script. The first is a true bilingual, but it has taken the scholarly world half a century to agree on what corresponds to what, and about one third of the text is still somewhat uncertain. The second is a typical example of an epitaph of a Kitan noble, which lists his ancestors, official titles, family links, date of birth and death and occasionally other material. Much can be understood, much can not. The third is the *Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi,* which can be barely understood at all.

6.1 The Langjun inscription

The Langjun inscription is the best known and the most studied of all the Kitan inscriptions. Inscribed on a stele in front of the tomb of the Tang empress Wu Zetian, it is easily accessible. Rubbings of it were reproduced in several Ming and Qing collections. As far as I know the first translation in English was provided by Wylie 1860. Like his predecessors, Wylie thought the script was Jurchen, being misled by the date and the first line. Soon after the discovery and publication of the Shengzong and Renyi inscriptions from the Liao imperial tombs at Qingling, Haneda noted that the scripts were the same, and consequently the Langjun inscription must have been in Kitan. The Langjun inscription is a bilingual, the only bilingual in the present corpus, and most attempts at decipherment of the script have started with a study of this text. The most recent studies or annotated translations are Ji Shi 1996:261-269; Chinggeltei 2002:8, and Liu Fengzhu 2006:8.

6.2 Chinese text of the Langjun inscription

1. 大金皇弟, 都統經略, 郎君, 嚮以疆埸無事, 獵于梁山之陽.
The younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin State, campaign commander, military commissioner, court attendant. For some time in the border areas there were no matters [to attend to] so he went hunting on the south side of Liangshan mountain.

2. 至唐乾陵, 殿廡頹然, 一無所睹. 爰命有司, 鳩工修飾.
When he arrived at the Qianling tombs of the Tang, the halls and corridors were in a state of decay. There was nothing to be seen. He issued orders to the authorities to gather workmen to make repairs.

3. 今, 復謁陵下, 繪像一新. 回廊四起, 不勝欣懌. 與醴陽太守酣飲而歸.
Now, he returned to visit the tombs. The paintings were like new. Surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted. After he drank wine with the prefect of Liyang, he returned home.

4. 時天會十二年歲次, 甲寅, 仲冬, 十有四日.
The time was the twelfth year of the Tianhui period, *jiayin* [1134] mid-winter, the fourteenth day.

5. 尚書, 職方郎中, 黃應期. 宥州刺史, 王圭, 從行奉命題. 右譯前言.
The court minister and director of the bureau of operations, Huang Yingqi, and the prefect of Youzhou, Wang Gui, wrote this in accordance with the edict. On the right is a translation of this text.

6.3 Kitan text of the Langjun inscription

[1] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
GREAT GOLD g.úr:en qa.ha:an deu cau.ji hur.ú g.iŋ l.iau.u ś.a.rí[2]

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[2] Wang Jingru identified [Kitan] as 大 'big, great' and [Kitan] as 金 'gold, Jin dynasty'. *Research* identified [Kitan] ‹g.úr:en› 'of the country' and [Kitan] ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan'. [Kitan] is 弟 *di* 'younger brother'. [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹cau.ji hur.ú› corresponds to 都統 *dutong* 'military commissioner'. [Kitan] ‹cau.ji› is 'war', related to [Kitan] ‹cau.úr› 'war, battle, army ' and [Kitan] ‹hur.ú› is 'controller'. [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹g.iŋ l.iau.u› corresponds to 經略 *jinglüe* 'military commissioner'. [Kitan] ‹ś.a.rí› is 郎君 *langjun* 'court attendant'. [Kitan] [Kitan] clearly corresponds to 大金 Da Jin 'The Great Jin [State]'; in Jurchen the word for 'gold' was **alčun*. There has been considerable discussion on the graph [Kitan] and its variant [Kitan]. Wu Yingzhe has proposed that the 'dotted forms' indicate grammatical gender i.e. they are used with masculine nouns. 金 also means 'metal', which is one of the five elements, but [Kitan] does not correspond to 'metal'. [Kitan] ‹g.úr:en›: [Kitan] ‹g.úr›

[2] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
c.ar am.se REGION.a.an ui eu.ińʹ[3]

[3] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]([Kitan]?) [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
l.iáŋ ś.a.an ja.cẻn.i m.án.ún se.mu.i[4]

'state', [Kitan] ‹en› 'genitive suffix after stems ending in consonants'. [Kitan] ‹g.úr› might be related to Chinese 國 *guo*. Cf. the term [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹c.iau.qú.ui i.ri› 'Chinese name' and [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹c.iau.qú.ui us.gi› 'Chinese writing, Chinese text' in lines 12 and 13. It could also be related to MMo. *gur* '*le tout entier*', perhaps in the sense of *tianxia* 'all under heaven'. The word was borrowed into Jurchen in the form **gurun,* which was inherited by Manchu. Cf. Kane 2006. [Kitan] ‹qa.ha:an› 'of the khan'. [Kitan] ‹an› is a genitive form used with stems containing the vowel [a]. [Kitan] ‹qa› implies a 'back k': [Kitan] was not used in transcribing Ch. words, which suggests the sound did not exist in Chinese. Chinese [k] was transcribed [Kitan] ‹k›, a 'front k'. Similarly, [Kitan] implies a 'back g', as it was not used to transcribe Chinese: Chinese [g] was transcribed [Kitan] ‹g›, a 'front g'. These transcriptions suggest that ‹qa› and ‹ha› were phonetically quite different from [ka] and [ga] and not merely positional sub-phonemic variants. I have used ‹h› for [ɣ] throughout for the 'back voiced g', which may well have been a fricative. The word for 'khan' is usually written [Kitan] ‹qa.ha-›, which implies 'khaghan' rather than 'khan', but [Kitan] ‹qa› by itself also occurs. [Kitan] ‹deu› 'elder brother'. Similar forms are widely attested in related languages, but there seems to be no independent evidence from within Kitan itself to confirm this reading. [Kitan] [Kitan]: this corresponds to *dutong* 'campaign commander'. From other contexts, [Kitan] ‹hur.ú› seems mean 'in control of'. In line 2 of the Daozong inscription, [Kitan] ‹hur.ú› appears with the genitive suffix [Kitan] ‹un›, which shows that [Kitan] ‹hur.ú› is a noun, so 'controller'. So this term would mean 'the official in charge of the [Kitan] ‹cau.ji›'. The stem [Kitan] ‹cau› means 'war, battle'. Chinggeltei has suggested [Kitan] (=[Kitan]) ‹ji› might be a suffix similar to Mo. *či,* so [Kitan] ‹cau.ji› would mean 'those who fight, those who engage in battle', so 'troops, army'. The stem [Kitan] ‹cau› appears in **cau.ur* 'war' which appears in the *Liaoshi* glossary, and in Jurchen **čauha, *cauši* 'army, soldiers'; Ma. *cooha* 'army'. [Kitan] ‹ś.a.rí› is found in the *Liaoshi* glossary and elsewhere as the Kitan equivalent of Chinese 郎君 *langjun,* 'court attendant'. Wylie translated this term 'prince of the blood'.

[3] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹c.ar am.se REGION.a:an ui eu.ń› corresponds to 向以疆場無事 *xiang yi jiangchang wu shi* 'because for some time there had been no matters within his territory'. Only [Kitan] has the genitive suffix ‹an›, so [Kitan] must correspond to 'territory, region'. [Kitan] ‹c.ar› means 'in the past, up to now'. [Kitan] ‹am.se› is 'because of'. [Kitan] ‹ui› must mean 'matters, affairs'. [Kitan] ‹eu.ń› 'there were not'. On [Kitan] ‹c.ar›, cf. Ma. *cala* 'previous, before'; on [Kitan] ‹ui›, cf. Ma./Mo. *weile* 'affair, matter'. [Kitan] may be been read **uil,* but there is little evidence for this.

[4] 'He set out to hunt to the south of Liang mountain'. Between [Kitan] ‹ja.cẻn.i› 'south side of a hill or mountain' (陽) and [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci› 'after he came to the Qianling tombs of the Tang' we find [Kitan] [Kitan] ‹m.án.ún se.mu.i›, which corresponds to 'he set out to hunt'. Chinggeltei 1999 suggests [Kitan] ‹m.án.ún› is 'to hunt' and [Kitan] ‹se.mu.i› is 'to set out, to travel'. Other scholars have suggested the reverse, but [Kitan] ‹m.án.ún› is found in other contexts which suggest it means 'to hunt'. [Kitan] ‹ja.cẻn.i› is transcribed as such in *Research*; Chinggeltei 2002:128 transcribes [Kitan] ‹ja.úŋ.i›. The calligraphy on this inscription is rather cursive, and the graph in question not clear: it could be either [Kitan] or [Kitan].

[4] [Khitan]
ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de x.ui.ci.[5]

[5] [Khitan]
g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên ei.iú.cẻn p.u.ui.i dau.iń 356 ho.le.hu.er[6]

[6] [Khitan]
l.i c.eu:en nai:d:er b.áŋ.hu.ai śi.de u.ji:d jỉn se.qó.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún[7]

[7] [Khitan]
ún.e mó.qu.ui x.ui.ri.s.ii ún.yỏ jủr:én ś.ên p.o.ju.ii[8]

[8] [Khitan]
l.aŋ go.ci ku.ud.û.ui rẻŋ.én.er x.i.cẻn nẻn.ún[9]

[9] [Khitan]
em:en nai:d deu.úr WINE.bo êm.ci x.i.is.û.ui p.od.l.ún[10]

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[5] 唐乾陵 *Tang Qianling* 'the Qianling tombs of the Tang dynasty' corresponds to [Khitan] ‹ta.aŋ:en ki.ên l.iŋ:de›. From the context, [Khitan] ‹en› is a genitive ending, and [Khitan] ‹de› a locative. [Khitan] ‹x.ui› is the stem for 'come'. [Khitan] ‹ci› is a converb, expressing 'after' = 'after he arrived'. [Khitan] ‹ci› is seen also in [Khitan] ‹êm.ci› 'after he drank [wine with the local officials]' in line 9.

[6] [Khitan] ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› transcribes 宮殿 *gongdian* 'palace'. The rest of the sentence is not understood. It is sometimes suggested [Khitan] might mean 'good' based on a similarity between [Khitan] and the cursive form of Chinese 好 *hao* 'good'.

[7] [Khitan] ‹l.i c.eu› is 醴陽 Liyang in the Chinese text but [Khitan] transcribes a name like * 醴州 *Lizhou. Note the genitive suffix is [Khitan] ‹en›, not [Khitan] ‹on›, which suggests that the vowel in [Khitan] ‹c.eu› was [əu] rather than [ou], and that the final glide was considered a consonant: [li cew.en]. [Khitan] ‹nai› is 'head, chief' and appears in the *Liaoshi* glossary. [Khitan] ‹d› is a plural suffix. [Khitan] ‹se.qú.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún› is a verb. corresponding to 修飾 'to repair, to renovate'. It is preceded by [Khitan] ‹jỉn›, a very common word which is not understood. It may mean 'shape, outward appearance'. In ‹se.qú.zỏ.le.ha.al.ún›, ‹le.ha› *-*lɣ*- is causative and ‹al.ún› [a]*-*lun* is a past tense.

[8] [Khitan] ‹ún.yỏ› is common in the inscriptions. Here it seems to correspond to *hui* 'painting, decoration' in 繪像一新 *hui xiang yi xin* 'the paintings appeared renewed'. Elsewhere [Khitan] ‹lu ún.yỏ› corresponds to 龍顔 *lóngyán* 'dragon face, the imperial countenance' ([Khitan] is ‹lu› 'dragon'). [Khitan] ‹x.ui.r.s.ii› 'came to, arrived' is a form of [Khitan]- ‹x.ui› 'come'. [Khitan] ‹s.ii› is a type of converb. The words after [Khitan] are [Khitan] [Khitan]. [Khitan] ‹jủr.én› means 'second, the second time, again'. [Khitan] ‹ś.ên› is 新 *xin* 'new', cf. Mo. *sine* 'new'. Together they mean 'renewed'.

[9] This corresponds to 回廊四起, 不勝欣懌 'surrounding corridors were on all four sides. He was inexpressibly delighted.' [Khitan] ‹l.aŋ› is 廊 *lang* 'corridor'. [Khitan] ‹go.ci› may have the same stem as [Khitan] ‹go.er›, a common term in the epitaphs, 'tent, lineage, household'. Here perhaps simply 'houses, buildings'.

[10] [Kitan]
qi po HEAVEN d.iu.er TEN TWO s.iau.qú[11]

[11] [Kitan]
qa.ha.as ai dau.úr.ún u.ul TEN FOUR DAY p.o.ón[12]

[12] [Kitan]
ei.au g.ün pu.kå.x.er c.iau.qú.ui i.ri oŋ g.ui sỏ.or[13]

[13] [Kitan]
ci.er. c.iau.qú.ui us.gi[14] c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ hoŋ iŋ x.i ci.er.[15]

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[10] [Kitan] = 'local officials together-with wine drank'. [Kitan] ‹em› means 'place' so [Kitan] ‹em:en› 'of that place: local'. [Kitan] ‹nai› is 'head, chief'. [Kitan] ‹d› is a plural suffix. [Kitan] ‹deu.úr› is 'together', Ch. 同 *tong*. [Kitan] ‹ci› is a converb suffix, meaning 'after'. [Kitan] ‹p.od.l.ún› 'he returned'. [Kitan] ‹l.ún› is a past tense suffix.

[11] [The time was] the fourteenth day of mid-winter, *jiayin* year, the twelfth year of the Tianhui 天會 reign period. In 1933, Wang Jingru proposed that [Kitan] ‹dau.úr.ún› was the Kitan equivalent of Chinese 仲冬 *zhongdong* 'mid-winter'. Chinggeltei 1976 proposed that since 仲 *zhong* means 'middle', [Kitan] might be related to Mongol *dumda,* Daur *duanda* 'middle'.

[12] [Kitan] ‹qi› 'that'; [Kitan] ‹po› 'time'; [Kitan] ‹HEAVEN t.iu.er› = Tianhui; [Kitan] 'ten'; [Kitan] 'two'; [Kitan] ‹s.iau.qú› 'blue'; [Kitan] 'tiger' ‹qa.ha.as›: 'blue tiger' corresponds to the cyclical term 甲寅 *jiayin*; [Kitan] 'year'; [Kitan] 'middle'; [Kitan] 'winter'; [Kitan] 'ten' [Kitan] 'four'; [Kitan] 'day'; [Kitan] ‹p.o.ón›: past tense of the verb 'to be'. [Kitan] ‹po› is given in the *Liaoshi* as the word for 'time'. [Kitan] corresponds to 天會 Tianhui, but the names of the reign periods in Kitan did not correspond exactly to the Chinese terms: [Kitan] ‹HEAVEN t.iu.er› means 'heaven virtue'.

[13] It might be inferred that [Kitan] ‹c.iau.qú.ui› means 'China' and represents a local (or Kitan) pronunciation of the word *Zhongguo*. [Kitan] ‹i.ri› means 'name'.

[14] [Kitan] ‹c.iau.qú.ui us.gi› 'Chinese writing': the Chinese text. Cf. line 12: [Kitan] ‹c.iau.qú.er i.ri› 'Chinese name'. The last word in the Kitan version of the Langjun inscription is [Kitan]; this is also the last word on the *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü Gu Yelü* and the *Epitaph of Xiao Zhonggong.* The Chinese version of the Langjun inscription indicates these two graphs must mean 'written by, 題'. [Kitan] ‹ci› must be the stem for 'write'; [Kitan] ‹er› is a past tense suffix. In the Chinese text, the official title of Huang Yingqi 黃應期 was 尚書職方郎中 *shangshu zhifang langzhong* 'director of the bureau of military operations of the imperial secretariat'. [Kitan] ‹pu.kå.x.er› corresponds to 刺史 *cishi* 'prefect' in the Chinese text.

[15] In the Chinese text, the official title of Wang Gui is 宥州刺史 *Youzhou cishi* 'prefect of Youzhou'. In other inscriptions, [Kitan] transcribes 郡 *jun* 'commandery' so [Kitan] ‹ei.au g.ün› must be 宥郡 Youjun; 州 *zhou* 'prefecture' and 郡 *jun* 'commandery' being similar in meaning. [Kitan] ‹oŋ g.ui ci.er› means 'Wang Gui, wrote [this]'. [Kitan] ‹sỏ.or› is usually found following [Kitan] ‹k.em› 'edict', i.e. 'he received the edict, having heard the contents of the edict'. The order came from the brother of the emperor, not the emperor himself, so perhaps this is the reason the word [Kitan] ‹k.em› was not used.

6.4 The Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

The *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* 耶律迪烈墓誌銘 is a typical example of the Kitan epitaphs. It is particularly useful as a sample text because it is relatively long, relatively legible and in a good state of preservation. There is a biography of Yelü Dilie in the *Liaoshi,* which provides basic information on dates, official positions and so on. The original inscription is on display at the Liao Jin City Wall Museum in Beijing, and is easily accessible. The text with commentary was published by Lu and Zhou 2000 in handwritten form and in Chinggeltei 2002:222-231 in printed form. The handwritten copy in Bao Lianqun 2002 has also been consulted. Aisin Gioro 2004:242-284 and 2004b:69-84 are comparative studies of the *Epitaph of Yelü Dilie* and the *Epitaph of the Late Mme. Yelü,* who were father and daughter, and share much material in common. ○ indicates empty spaces in the inscription, which preceding certain words to indicate respect, and to separate lines of rhymed verse.

6.5 Biography of Yelü Dilie from the *Liaoshi*

Yelü Dilie, styled Salan, was a fifth generation grandson of Yelü Hou, investigation commissioner. He was generous and good at study, and wrote prose and poetry. At the end of the Chongxi period, he was appointed to the position of court attendant of the bureau of seals and tallies. He was responsible for the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor*. In the first year of the Qingning period, he was transferred to the position of associate administrator of Yongzhou. He showed merit in suppressing bandits, and was appointed *linya* and recipient of edicts of the northern division. In the ninth year, the Chongyuan uprising occurred. Yelü Dilie participated in the battle, and succeeded in suppressing the rebels. Consequently he was granted the position of military commissioner of the Linhai army. In the tenth year, he was transferred to Wu'an, to the position of surveillance commissioner. In the fifth year of the Xianyong period, he was transferred to the position of director of the Changning palace. In the fourth year of the Dakang period, he became the great prince of the southern chancellery. When his period of appointment was completed, he was asked to remain there. He then served as regent of the southern capital. He fell ill, and the emperor sent the imperial physician to see him. He was transferred to the supreme capital as regent. In the Da'an period, he was appointed military commissioner of Tamu city. He was ill when he took office. He was given the concurrent position of palace attendant. His emolument was that of an official of the first degree. He died in the eighth year of the Da'an period.

6.6 Kitan text of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

[1]
GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i g.úr:en jau.ul.ha.ai □□ s.iŋ g.ün z.ie du sh

cau.úŋ lu.uh tai pu g.ie.êm g.iau tai ui □ tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en ha.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ

sh dz.iú g.ui s.i ś.ui g.ün k.ei g.ui g.uŋ p.a.ai p.in TWO THOUSAND

po.ho p.in TWO HUNDRED rẻn.er ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un ne.ra:de

RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho[16]

[2]
qa.ha.an xe.dú.ún go.er zỏ.qu ai:en doro p.ai.ss.en ś.a.rí:d c.as.a rẻn.er us.gi

hur.ú.un ui [yuan] KNOW.i ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh COMPOSE.a.ar[17]

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[16] Line 1: Inscription engraved on the tomb ‹ne.ra:de RECORD.g.en TEXT.ú› of Lord Yelü Salan (*Sarhan) 耶律撒懶 / ‹ei.ra.u.ud s.ar.ha.án s.iaŋ g.uŋ›, noble granted two hundred households ‹po.ho p.in TWO HUNDRED›, land grant noble granted two thousand households ‹p.a.ai p.in TWO THOUSAND› *kaiguogong* 開國公 ‹k.ei g.ui g.uŋ› [dynasty founding duke], Qishui prefecture 漆水郡 ‹s.i ś.úi g.ün› *jiuguo* ‹dz.iú g.ui› *menxia pingchangshi* 門下平章事 ‹m.en xa.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ sh›; *tongzhongshu* 同中書 ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú›, *jianjiao taiwei* 檢校太尉 ‹g.ie.êm g.iau tai ui›, *chonglu daifu* 崇祿大夫 cau.úŋ lu.uh tai pu *jiedushi* 節度使 ‹z.ie du sh› of the [Linhai] army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State ‹GREAT t.iau.dû xu.rå qid.i g.úr:en›. The meaning of ‹jau.ul.ha.ai □□ s.iŋ g.ün› is unknown. The *Liaoshi* refers to the Linhai army. ‹dz.iú g.ui› may be a version of *zhongguo* 'China'. Cf. ‹c.iau.qú.ui› 'China' in the Langjun inscription. Lu and Zhou annotate as 魯國 Luguo 'state of Lu', but there seems little justification for this. By the context it seems to be an official title. The terms 'two thousand' ‹p.a.ai p.in› and 'two hundred' ‹po.ho p.in› refer to landholdings. ‹rẻn:er› seems to mean 'to make, to do' perhaps 'to serve' (in an official post). ‹er› is a past tense suffix. ‹ho.le.bo.ń› means 'first, first born, first period of the month, preface'. ‹ho.le.bo.ń ci.ge.ho› is a conventional phrase: together with preface'.

[3]
sỏ.or.□.er ś.iá.ah cu.ur.ge.er go:t ü ei.ie po.mu.fẻi qudug êm.ra.i

yô.cẻn.er ku hó.hu hu.mú.ho.i ho.a siỏ u.ji:en 307.ei qa.ha:en xe.se.ge.ud

śi.mỉ.iń iú.iú g.uŋ:un c.il.i REGION.a.ud FOUR♂ m.ri.d:en eu.ge o.ju.ún ŋ.ui:en

po.do cẻn.a.bu.d.iń ŋ.iú nai.mủh.un bo.qo.i bo.qo NINE x.iŋ.d:en po.deu:de

x.ui.d.l.ún ún i.010 c.iau us.gi:de[18]

[4]
te.□.hó RECORD.gi.le.ge.ei □.x.ü.er:de dau.ul.u.ji:d p.o.ju.tś yỏ.ún:en qú.ui

ún.e:de ün.iń u.ur.ai:en t.as.ha.am hó.le.bo.ń.er mú p.on:de mo.d:er

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[17] Line 2: ‹qa.ha.an› ‘of the khaghan’; ‹xe.dú.ún go.er› ‘horizontal tents 橫帳’; ‹zỏ.qu ai:en› ‘younger paternal tent (lineage)’ 季父房 *jifufang*’; ‹doro pai.ss:en ś.a.rí:d›: ‹doro› ‘seal’, ‹p.ai.ss› ‘tallies’ (*paizi, paiza*): ‘bureau of seals and tallies 印牌司’; ‹ś.a.rí› ‘*langjun,* 郎君 court attendant’; ‹d› ‘plural suffix’ ś.a.rí:d corresponds to the Chinese term 郎君班 *langjunban*; ‹c.as.a› ‘*jasa,* tribal unit in the *ordo*’; ‹us.gi› ‘writing’, ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge of’; ‹un› genitive suffix; ‹ui› ‘matters, affairs, business 事’; [*yuan*] ‘division’ (is elsewhere read *cu*). : corresponds to 知 *zhi* ‘administrator’ ‹ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh› ‘Yelü Gu’ 耶律固 (name). ‘composed 撰’; ‹ar› indicates the past tense.

[18] Line 3: ‹sỏ.or.121.er›: perhaps ‘I have heard, it is well known’; ‹ś.iá.ah›: a common word; meaning unknown, perhaps ‘good’; ‹go:t› (PLUR) ‘tent(s)’ in the sense of ‘lineage, family’; ‹po.mu.fẻi› another common word, meaning unknown. ‹qudug› ‘good fortune’. ‹ku› ‘man, person’. This seems to be a translation of ‘families which accumulate goodness are sure to have an abundance of good fortune’ 積善之家, 必有餘福, as suggested by Aisin Gioro 2004. ‹qa.ha:en› ‘of the khan’; ‹xe.se.ge.ud› ‘areas, border regions’ (?); ‘four (masculine)’. Cf. Ch. 四方 *si fang* ‘four directions’ (?); ‹m.ri.d.en› most likely refers to the *miri* (tribal unit) Ch: 彌里 *mili* rather than ‘horses’. ‹d› is plural, ‹en› is genitive. ‹po.do› ‘at the time of’: ‹do› is a locative suffix. ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘son of a son’ = ‘grandson’. ‹us.gi› ‘writing’; ‹de› locative; perhaps ‹c.299› is probably a mistranscription for **ciau* cf. ‹c.iau.qú.ui› ‘Chinese’.

关平圡方夭 坔 仐尕 几太 府及 叔圠及犸 仐尕 几太 关化 犀公 朩化当村
au.ul.ha.al.ún 079 s.iaŋ g.uŋ b.u k.ii.u.ji s.iaŋ g.uŋ i.ri dỉr.n c.ur.én:en

仐朩圡出 佃仐几 灰 及化 小 犸朩关 业欠犸 化几村 曲夯村 几
s.ar.ha.án BORN.se.gi SIX u.ur siỏ hu.ar.i po.qó.ji ri.g.en go.er:en ku

丕化夯 公尕村 及化屮 乂矢伏 卉才
EIGHT.ur:én n.on:en u.ur.ai xe.d.iń tir.ia[19]

[5] **化几村 府化土当 公关勺 □□□ 小犸 伏仒夾 由[由]圡屮 叉化券 丙左及火 叉化**
ri.g.en bo.ri.tů.én n.i.gu □□□ siỏ.hu ńi.ô.ur yỏ.[yô].ha.ai śi.ri.ge ei.ra.u.ud mo.ri

叉为共公 □大 乍伏 令币圡朩村 ○ 关 主王雨 乍 屮 亚方 仐仝 主 王雨
ś.a.rí.d □.120 bu.iń t.od.ha.ar:en HEAVEN hoŋ.di:in bu ai ki.ên s.ú hoŋ.di:in

小村 才公屮化圡朩 方业犸夯 伏仒夾 卆伏 关化矢 禾公犸 及子叉 化 雨北 ○
siỏ:en ia n.ai.ri.ha.ar al.le.hu.er ńi.ô.úr nẻn.iń i.ri:de is.d.hu o.ju.ún ri sỏ.ho

关 主王 朩左用 伏亦夂 犸各土业公丙 共关
HEAVEN hoŋ.di ci.ra.il ńi.ad.bú hu.as.tů.le.ge.ei rí.i[20]

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[19] Line 4: **及化屮村** ‹ú.ur.ai:en› 'of the ancestors [former fathers]' ‹hó.le.bo.ń.er› 'imperial clan, imperial line 皇統' … ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› *'xianggong,* lord, excellency'; **关化** ‹iri› 'name' **犀公** ‹dỉr.n›: perhaps the name Diren 迪輦,迪烈. **朩化当村** ‹c.ur.er.en› 'second name, adult name'; **村** ‹en› is genitive, indicating an attributive. **仐朩圡出** ‹s.ar.ha.án›: the name written Salan 撒懶 in the *Liaoshi*. **灰 及化** ‹SIX u.ur› 'six divisions 六院', **业欠犸** ‹po.qo.ji› the name given in the *Liaoshi* as Puguji 蒲古只. **化几村** ‹ri.g.en› 'a tribal title 夷離堇 *yilijin*'; **曲夯村** ‹go.er:en› 'of the tent of'; **几** ku ‹man, male›; **丕化夯** ‹EIGHT.ur.er› 'ordinal of eight: eighth' **公尕** ‹n.on› 'generation'; **及化屮** ‹u.ur.ai› 'ancestors'; **乂矢伏 卉才** ‹xe.de.ń tir.a› *Xedeń *Tira (Diela or Tiela). In the *Liaoshi,* *Sarhan's 'second name' is written Dilie 敵烈, but the transcription **犀公** ‹dỉr.n›, suggests Dilian, written elsewhere in Chinese texts as 迪輦. The 'second names' were usually followed by the suffix **伏** [ń].

[20] Line 5: **公关勺** ‹n.i.gu› 'gold, golden' also 'Jurchen'. **小犸** ‹siỏ.hu› 'south; region, also tribe', **伏仒夾** ‹ń.ô.úr› and **叉化** ‹śi.ri› are tribal units. **伏仒夾** ‹ń.ô.úr› sometimes corresponds to 'circuit'. **叉化** ‹śi.ri› is transcribed 石烈 *shilie* 'tribal unit' or 'sub-tribe'. **叉化** ‹mo.ri› '*mili, miri* 彌里 tribal unit'; **叉为共公** ‹ś.a.rí:d› 郎君 '*langjun,* court attendant'. **关 主 王** ‹HEAVEN hoŋ.di› 'Heaven Emperor': honorific title (*zunhao*) of Abaoji, the founder of the Kitan state. **乍 屮** ‹bu ai› 'grandfather' **亚方 仐仝** ‹ki.ên s.ú› = Xuanzu 玄祖 (name of emperor); **才**‹ia› elder brother, uncle'; **伏亦夂** ‹ń.ad.bú› (~ ‹bud›) '*nabo,* travelling camp'; **化几村** *yilijin*.

[6] 丰 令丙 令伞 主 王雨 □有 才幺伏㚢 列艾列 本关秃 伏[伏]仌化关 州ネ击丰
ai t.ei s.ú hoŋ di:in □.en ia.iá.iń:er hu.sår(?).hu c.i.is ńi.ô.ur.i zỏ.le.ha.ai

业为亐 本冬为 业及子击亐 小列 伏仌交 兂仧丰 矢亦刃友 毛火 灰 叐化
p.a.al c.as.a p.o.ju.ha.al siỏ.hu ńi.ô.úr śi.bải.ar miŋ.ad.rẻn.tz tau.un SIX u.ur

圣 伏仌矢 业及子击丰 芬 火矢[矢]伏 化九冇 令币击丰 灰 叐化 伏仌化
TWO ń.ô:de p.o.ju.ha.ar ge xe.de.ń ri.g.en t.od.ha.ai SIX u.ur ńi.ô.ur

岀丰击亐叉 口 不赤 一㕛伏 才 ち 仅
287.ar.ha.al.ún qi xa.åŋ UPPER:d.iń ia deu jỉn[21]

[7] 孙击亐击为 化九冇 舟仌火 㕛交伏 龙 圣冇 舟列出 及及 圣用伏 业欠药
ja.ha.al.ha.a ri.g.en bo.ô.ui d.úr.iń śỉ TWO:en bo.hu.án m.o yỉ.il.iń po.qó.ji

化九冇 夂 击芬 冇叐 丙个叐火关 仃㕛 又 米仌及内 尺交叉 国ネ舟伏
ri.g.en uh RECORD.e hor.u ei.ra.u.ud.i du.er GREAT ordu.ô.o.ón dau.úr.ún hó.le.bo.ń

毛卡 ネ击丰 尺公 关化 亐㕛 令金ネ尜丙 曲㕛 㕛冇㕛 本幺 国才 本化㕛
tau.kå le.ha.ai û.n i.ri doro:er t.em.le.ge.ei go.er d.en.er c.iá hó.ia c.ur.er

冇叐 杏 列圣列 化九冇 丙 几 㕛叐 交关 穴夂伏 龙 令 圣冇 本化㕛
hor.u uni hu.êm.hu ri.g.en mo ku er.u úr.i dau.uh.iń śỉ te TWO:en c.ur.er[22]

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[21] Line 6: 丰 ‹ai› 'father' 令丙 令伞 ‹t.ei s.ú› De Zu 德祖 (name of emperor); ‹hoŋ.di:en› 'emperor (genitive)'; 才幺伏㚢 ‹ia.iá.ń.er› 'brothers, uncles (?) (accusative)'; 本关秃 ‹c.i.is› 'blood relations, members of the same tribe'; 小列 ‹siỏ.hu› 'southern'; 伏仌交 ‹ń.ô.úr› 'circuit, tribe, region' 本冬为 ‹c.as.a› *jasa* 閘撒 tribal unit'; 业及子击丰 ‹p.o.ju.ha.ar› 'was promoted'.矢亦 ‹miŋa.ad› 'thousands ~ *meng'an* (?)' 毛火 ‹tau.un› 'five'; 灰 叐化 ‹SIX u.ur› 'six divisions'; TWO: 'the two parts', i.e. the five divisions and the six divisions'; 业及子击亐 ‹p.o.ju.ha.al› 'was promoted, was made' … 化九冇 ‹ri.g.en› *yilijin* 夷離菫 'tribal title'; 毛火 灰 叐化 'five divisions and six divisions' 口 ‹qi› 'that'; … 一㕛伏 'upper ones, superior ones, those in the north'; 才 ‹ia› elder brothers, ち‹deu› 'younger brothers'.

[22] Line 7: 化九冇 ‹ri.g.en› '*yilijin* tribal title'; 㕛交伏 ‹d.úr.iń› [Kitan clan name?] 龙 ‹śỉ› 'name before marriage, née, Mme. 圣冇 ‹TWO:en› 'two (genitive/attributive)'; 舟列出 ‹bo.hu.án› 'children'; 及及 ‹m.o› 'big, eldest'; 圣用伏 ‹yỉ.il.iń› 'Kitan name or official title: *yilimian/yilibi* (?)'; 业欠药 ‹po.qó.ji 'Kitan name: Puguji'; 冇叐 ‹hor.ú› 'people'; 丙个叐火关 ‹ei.ra.u.ud.i› 'Yelü'. 关 ‹i› is a genitive suffix; 又 米仌及内 ‹GREAT ordu.ô.o.ón›; 尺交叉 ‹dau.úr.ún› 'middle, middle period' 国ネ舟伏 ‹hó.le.bo.ń› 'imperial clan', also a personal name; 尺公 ‹û.n› '*yuyue* GEN (?)'; 亐㕛 ‹doro.er› 'ceremony, ritual; seal›; 曲㕛 ‹go.er› 'clan, family, tent, lineage'; 本化㕛 ‹c.ur.er› 'second, second name'; 冇叐 ‹hor.ú› 'Kitan name: may mean 'people'; 杏 ‹uni› 'ox'; 列圣列

[8] [Kitan script] □.□.[Kitan script]
bo.qo yi̊.il.iń ku.uh.ul ś.a.rí □.□.úr mo sår.iń.śi̊:de n.o.p.a.ad na.as.l.ún te

[Kitan script]
TWO:en c.ur.er bo.qo s.al.ha.án le.bú.uh s.êŋ.un mu.le.g:en yů.úr po:do siỏ

[Kitan script]
WEST FIVE doro:le.u.ji tai s.êŋ.un p.o.gỏ.l.i xe.ci t.ud.le.ge.er cau.úr

[Kitan script]
am.qi.ha.án hó.le.bo.ń rẻn.er mo ku te TWO:en c.ur.er bo.qo hor.bo.ń x.eu

[Kitan script]
s.ai p.oŋ TWO♂:[23]

[9] [Kitan script] ○ [Kitan script]
qa.ha.ad:er rẻn.le ge.er SEVEN RECORD.er.d s.úr.d śi.mi̊.l.er.ei mu.le.gi hoŋ di:in

[Kitan script]
po:do ai:en giů p.o.gỏ.l.iń em:en ci.m p.o.ju.ha.ai ji̊n k.em ja.al.ha.ai siỏ

[Kitan script]
hu.ar p.o.or c.al hu.an rí.iń rẻn.uh ci.mu.i mú se.bun.ei û.én:er s.ai

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‹hu.êm.hu› 'Kitan name transcribed in Ch. 匣馬葛 *Hiamago; [Kitan script] ‹ri.g.en› '*yilijin*' [Kitan script] ‹mo ku› 'wife'; [Kitan script] ‹dau.uh.iń› 'Kitan clan name'; [Kitan script] ‹śi̊› 'name before marriage, née, Mme'; [Kitan script] ‹te› plural suffix '; [Kitan script] ‹c.ur.er› 'second'.

[23] Line 8: [Kitan script] ‹bo.qo› 'son'; [Kitan script] ‹yi̊.il.iń ku.uh.ul› *Yilin *Kuhul 'Kitan name or title'; [Kitan script] ‹ś.a.rí› '*langjun*'; [Kitan script] ‹mó› 'wife'; [Kitan script] ‹śi̊›; [Kitan script] ‹n.o.p.a.ad› *nabo* (捺鉢); [Kitan script] ‹na.as.l.ún› 'rest'; **lun* is a suffix indicating past tense; [Kitan script] ‹TWO:en› 'of these two'; [Kitan script] ‹c.ur.er bo.qo› 'second son'; [Kitan script] ‹s.al.ha.án›; [Kitan script] ‹le.bú.uh› *Sarhan Lubuh (Kitan name); [Kitan script] ‹s.êŋ.un› *xiangwen* (Kitan title); [Kitan script] ‹mu.le.g:en› 'venerable ancestor = Taizong 太宗'; [Kitan script] ‹yů.úr› 'first [year]'; [Kitan script] ‹po:do› 'at the time'; [Kitan script] 'south'; [Kitan script] 'west'; [Kitan script] ‹FIVE doro:le.u.ji› 'five seals' (= 'possessor of the five seals' (?); [Kitan script] ‹tai s.êŋ.un› 'great *xiangwen*'; [Kitan script] ‹xe.ci› 'settlement, town'; [Kitan script] ‹cau.úr› 'battle'; [Kitan script] ‹hó.le.bo.ń› 'imperial clan'; [Kitan script] ‹rẻn.er› 'served'; [Kitan script] ‹mó ku› 'wife'; [Kitan script] ‹te› (possibly: plural suffix for females); [Kitan script] ‹TWO:en› 'two'; [Kitan script] ‹c.úr.er› 'second'; [Kitan script] ‹bo.qo› 'son'; [Kitan script] ‹hor.bo.ń› *Horbun (Kitan name); [Kitan script] ‹x.eu› *Heu 'Kitan name', written 吼 **heu* in the *Liaoshi*; [Kitan script] ‹s.ai p.oŋ› '*caifang*'. *Hor.bo.ń [Kitan script] is referred to in the *Liaoshi* as 曷魯 Helu. The term [Kitan script] ‹FIVE doro:l.ú.ji tai s.êŋ.un› corresponds to Ch. 五押大詳穩 'grand *xiangwen* of the five seals'. [Kitan script] ‹doro› means both 'seal' and 'ritual, ceremony'.

[Khitan script]

p.oŋ:on i.ri t.em.le.ge.er ho.a.an HEAVEN û.er hoŋ di:in m.in se.bu.iń nẻn.a.án.er[24]

[10] [Khitan script]

au x.eu.ji k.em sỏ:or □.a.o.oi a.□ giủ ri.g.en go.er tir.ia ri.g.en go.er TENT.iń

[Khitan script]

bu mo.qú iên.ia.iń m.o ai:en ś.a.rí:d ci.ci:en sỏ:or an.le.ha.ai ńi.ô.ur

[Khitan script]

ci.kả.le.ge.l.ún mó ku x.uh.ji śỉ is.g.i te TWO:en m.o bo.qo s.ên.iń hor.bo

[Khitan script]

tai ś.i ś.a.rí a.ai eu.157.iń ci.hu al.en.da.de.i deu.ńi.er go.er[25]

[11] [Khitan script]

t.ei.ho.cẻn yủ.úr □ yô.cẻn.ún x.ui.d.l.ún ri.□.ho t.ei z.in:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei

[Khitan script]

siỏ hu.al p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sỏ.or a.ai du.ur.l.ún mó ku p.ar.il pu.is.iń gi.mu śỉ.i

[Khitan script]

ń.iau.ui bo.qo.i bo.qo ONE♂ dolo.én bải ku.kả û.ji:de ta.i ei.qu o.ju siỏ

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[24] Line 9: [Khitan] TWO♂; [Khitan] ‹qa.ha.ad:er› 'khaghan PLUR ACC' [Khitan] ‹SEVEN›; [Khitan] ‹mu.le.gi hoŋ di› 'venerable emperor'; [Khitan] ‹po:do› 'time LOC' = 'at that time'; [Khitan] ‹ai:en› 'year (genitive)'; [Khitan] ‹em:en› 'place (genitive)' = 'of that place; local'; [Khitan] ‹k.em› 'imperial edict'; [Khitan] SOUTH [Khitan] ‹g.úr› 'nation, state'; [Khitan] ‹p.o.or› COP PAST (= was); [Khitan] ‹s.ai p.oŋ› '*caifeng*' (official title); [Khitan] ‹i.ri› 'name, title'; [Khitan] ‹t.em.le.ge.er›; 'grant a title PASS CAUS PAST'; [Khitan] ‹HEAVEN›; [Khitan] ‹û.er› 'give, given' [Khitan] ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor' = the emperor 天授 Tianshou = 世宗 Shizong. Tianshou means 'given by heaven'.

[25] Line 10: [Khitan] ‹k.em sỏ:or› 'an edict was received; by imperial command, by imperial edict, 奉敕'; [Khitan] ‹ri.g.en› '*yilijin*'; [Khitan] ‹go.er› 'tent'; [Khitan] ‹tir.ia› Tiela; [Khitan] ‹ri.g.en› '*yilijin*'; [Khitan] ‹go.er› 'family'; [Khitan] 'tent, lineage' GEN; [Khitan] ‹bu› 'grandfather'; [Khitan] ‹m.o› 'eldest'; [Khitan] ‹ai:en› 'father' GEN; [Khitan] ‹ś.a.rí:d› '*langjun*' PLUR; [Khitan] ‹ci.ci:en› 'others' GEN; [Khitan] ‹sỏ:or› 'receive/hear' PAST; [Khitan] ‹ń.ô.ur› 'circuit'; [Khitan] ‹mó ku› 'wife'; [Khitan] ‹x.uh.ji› (Kitan tribe name) [Khitan] ‹śỉ› '*née*'; [Khitan] ‹is.g.i› '*Isigi (name of a tribe: 乙室己); [Khitan] ‹te› PLUR; [Khitan] ‹TWO:en› 'two' GEN; [Khitan] ‹m.o bo.qo› 'eldest son'; [Khitan] ‹s.ên.iń hor.bo› *Senin Horbu; [Khitan] ‹tai ś.i› '*taishi*'; [Khitan] ‹ś.a.rí› '*langjun*'; [Khitan] ‹a.ai› 'be' CONV; [Khitan] ‹deu.ń.er› 'brother' (accusative)'; [Khitan] ‹go.er› 'family'.

[Kitan]
hu.ar p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sỏ:or a.ai te.ge.er mó ku dolo.er aú.ui na.ha.án.er

[Kitan] [=[Kitan] ?] [Kitan]
m.o TENT:en te[26]

[12] [Kitan]
TWO:en bo.hu.án TWO♂ zỏ.qu ś.ie.ên.iń g.oŋ pu n.u tai ś.i ś.iŋ s.úŋ.un po:do

[Kitan]
cau.úr ui:de ai.il.ha.ai t.û ś.i:en i.ri:s:er dả u.or.er mó ku c.aŋ ho pu.is.iń

[Kitan]
mo.qú iên.ia.ah l.iu.iń l.i.319 tai ś.i:en bo.qo bo.hu.án TWO♂ BIG oŋ ŋ.u ku.kả

[Kitan]
û.ur o.o.ju BORN:én go.d:en ca.aŋ ś.i p.o.gỏ.l.ún c.ur.er bo.qo[27]

[13] [Kitan]
s.iaŋ g.uŋ b.u ca.aŋ ś.i:en mó ku ó.ui.i s.en aú.ui TWO:en bo.hu.án TWO♂ m.o

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[26] Line 11: [Kitan] ‹yủ.úr› ‘initial, first’; [Kitan] ‹t.ei z.in:en i.ri t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘he was granted the title of *specially advanced*’; [Kitan] ‹k.em sỏ.or› ‘an edict was received [heard]’; [Kitan] ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; [Kitan] ‹p.ar.il› possibly Bali [name of Kitan clan]’; [Kitan] ‹pu.is.iń› ‘lady’; [Kitan] ‹gi.mu› [possibly Kitan clan name]’; [Kitan] ‹śỉ.i› ‘née, Mme.’ [Kitan] ‹ń.iau.ui› ‘children, siblings’; [Kitan] ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson, grandchild’; [Kitan] ‹ONE♂› ‘one’ (used with masculine nouns); [Kitan] ‹dolo.én› [name]; [Kitan] ‘licentiate’ (?) (Ji Shi); [Kitan] ‹siỏ› ‘tribe’ (? in some contexts [Kitan] means ‘south’); [Kitan] ‹k.em sỏ:or› ‘edict received’; [Kitan] ‹te.ge.er› ‘died, dead, deceased’; [Kitan] ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; [Kitan] ‹dolo.er› [name]’; [Kitan] ‹aú.ui› ‘*niangzi:* form of address to a royal lady’; [Kitan] ‹na.ha.án.er› ‘maternal uncle’; [Kitan] ‹m.o› ‘great, large, big’ [Kitan] ‹TENT:en› (=lineage); [Kitan] ‹te› (possibly plural suffix).

[27] Line 12: [Kitan] ‹TWO:en› ‘two (GEN)’; [Kitan] ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’; [Kitan] ‹TWO♂› ‘two’; [Kitan] ‹zỏ.qu› ‘young, younger’; [Kitan] ‹ś.ie.ên.iń› *Sianin ‘a Kitan name’; [Kitan] ‹g.oŋ pu n.u› ‘Guangfonu 光佛奴’ [Kitan] ‹tai ś.i› *taishi*; [Kitan] ‹ś.iŋ s.úŋ› ‘Shengzong (name of an emperor)’; [Kitan] ‹po:do› ‘at that time’; [Kitan] ‹cau.úr› ‘battle’; [Kitan] ‹ui› ‘affair’ [Kitan] ‹t.û ś.i› 都事 *dushi* ‘manager’; [Kitan] ‹i.ri:s:er› ‘title, name’ PLUR ACC; [Kitan] dả ‘several’; [Kitan] ‹mó ku› ‘wife’; [Kitan] ‹c.aŋ ho› *Changho; [Kitan] ‹pu.is.iń› *furen*; [Kitan] ‹l.iu.iń› *Liuyin (name); [Kitan] ‹tai ś.i› *taishi*; [Kitan] ‹bo.qo› ‘child’; [Kitan] ‹bo.hu.án›; ‘children’; [Kitan] TWO♂ ‘two’; [Kitan] ‹BIG› ‘eldest’; [Kitan] ‹oŋ ŋ.u› Wang Yu ‘name’; [Kitan] ‹BORN:én› ‘born (past)’; [Kitan] ‹go.d› ‘tents’; [Kitan] ‹ca.aŋ ś.i› *changshi* 敞史: ‘a minor official in both northern and southern bureaus of military affairs’; [Kitan] ‹p.o.gỏ.l.ún› ‘promoted’; [Kitan] ‹c.ur.er› ‘second’; [Kitan] ‹bo.qo› ‘child, son’.

s.ar.a te.gẻ tu.uŋ g.ün:en du g.ia.êm 160.ai c.ur.er t.iu.rẻn du.uŋ mú g.iu.uŋ

p.uŋ go.n t.em.le.ge.ei źuŋ śi.ŋ ss:de 160.ai s.iaŋ g.uŋ GREAT ei.ie.s.u l.iau.qú

qa.ha.as ai nai MONTH 20 9 DAY:de hó BORN:er śi.ia ui.il mo.d:en le.ge.er.[28]

[14] uni.qu.dú eu.ho.056.le.hu.iú xe.zủ.ge.er eu.ur ei.i doro:de te.qu.a xe.s:en

g.û.dú ś.iá.ah śi.mỉ.le.ge.er ia deu n.ai.c:én x.i.ud.cẻn.e.ci ri sỏ.ho go.n

em.s.u.ji eu.ur x.ui.ci HEAVEN ordo.le.ha.ar TEN FIVE l.iau.qú ńi.qo ai yủ.úr

x.iŋ s.uŋ hoŋ di:de ku.kả û.ur o.oi ai:d ó.uh.ur KNOW.i □.al.ha.ai.ui

p.ai.u hu.ha.ai.i[29]

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[28] Line 13: ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› '*jiangjun*; general' ‹b.u ca.aŋ ś.i› '*fu changshi*: official title'; ‹mó ku› 'wife'; ‹s.en› 'long life; also used as a personal name: Yixin' ‹aú.ui› '*niangzi:* royal lady'; ‹TWO› 'two'; ‹bo.hu.án› 'children'' TWO♂ (masculine form); ‹m.o› 'big, great, elder'; ‹te.gẻ› 'south'; ‹du g.ia.êm› '*dujian*' ‹du.uŋ mú g.iú.uŋ› '*Dunmugong* 敦睦宮 Dunmu Palace'; ‹p.uŋ go.n› 'official title'; ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› 'having been awarded an honorary title'; (‹le.ge› = CAUS-PASS, ei = CONV); ‹źuŋ śi.ŋ ss› 'Rongsheng bureau'; ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› ‹*xianggong*›; ‹GREAT›; l.iau.qú 'red'; qa.ha.as 'tiger'; ai 'year'; ‹nai› 'head, first'; MONTH; TWENTY NINE DAY (locative) BORN:er 'was born'; mo.d:en 'of the wives' (?)

[29] Line 14: ‹doro› 'ritual/ceremony'; ‹ia deu› 'elder and younger brothers'; ‹n.ai.c:én› 'harmony (?)' ‹go.n› 'tent' (genitive)'; ‹eu.ur› 'age'; ‹x.ui.ci› 'come CONV: after he arrived'; ‹HEAVEN ordo.le.ha.ar› 'Chongxi' (reign period); 'fifteen'; ‹l.iau.qú› 'red'; ‹ńi.qo› 'dog'; ‹yủ.úr› 'initial [year]'; ‹x.iŋ s.uŋ› 'Xingzong' 興宗 (name of emperor); ‹hoŋ di› 'emperor'.

[15] 尺 爻圡羽 叔金 犭冬北 亠 夂化 朩炑为艾 冬丰 亐 业平廿冇 戈为共 仍关
dau. x.eu.ji k.em ja.as.ii UPPER u.ur ci.ra.qo.sår(?) as.ar doro p.ai.ss:en ś.a.rí rẻŋ.i

上㐬 买关 火 业列 业万朩冇 火 叉卡朩叉 舟冬 米 戈安 廿冇 业尺化伏
284.zů DAY.i ui áŋ.hu p.ei.l.en ui mo.kå.l.ún b.as źuŋ śi.ŋ ss:en p.û.ur.iń

冇仐炏 及及子 亐 业为廿冇 夹夂伇冇丰 夹夂伇业矢 业丙炑炏
hor.s:er o.o.ju doro p.a.ss:en lỉ.u.232.en.ar lỉ.u.232.áŋ:de p.iů.ra.er

□亐列 雨闲朩列火 公平化炏 火 圡九朩九 羽冇 由叉冇 丙亐圡亐
□.al.hu sỏ.gỏ.le.hu.iú n.ai.ri:er ui RECORD.gi.le.gi ji:en yỏ.ún:en ei.al.ha.al

圡九朩九 爻火化炏丙
RECORD.gi.le.gi x.ui.ri.ge.ei[30]

[16] 叔北炏尘炏 北为买 叉公 ○ 伏夂羽冇 关 叉雨 仐生 仐北 列冬 叉雨炏
ke.ho.ge.cẻn.er ho.a.an ún.n mu.u.ji:en HEAVEN m.in se.bu s.ii hu.as m.in:er

火安 朩圡火 为太 友 业及仝 朩炏 夂羽 爻圣丙夂羽 业伏非 叔金 雨仝
iú.ŋ c.eu.un tu.uŋ tz p.o.or ci.er u.ji xe.zåi.ei.u.ji po.mu.fẻi k.em sỏ.or

为□ 令金 夯朩 闵仐 叉雨炏 尔化廾火 叉当仐 戈仌□冇 □□□□ 廾羽 羽冇关
a.□ t.em e.ci rỏ.se m.in:er aú.ur.u.ui ún.er.ú tau.ô.□:en □□□□ ó.ji ji.en.i

丸杏廾羽 火 炑朩列 圡平 叁炏 令丞 乖平圡平 列亐圡平 北为 层关
au.uni.ó.ji ui ra.le.hu eu.ul 278.er te.d jau.ul.ha.ul hu.al.ha.ai ho.a KNOW.i

□亐 廾羽
□.al ó.ji[31]

[17] 爻圡羽 叔金 雨闲 朩关 九化 爻火化炏 □□□□ 北矢 戈卡廾火 丸平圡平
x.eu.ji k.em sỏ.gỏ l.i gi.ri x.ui.ri.ge □□□□ ho:de tau.kå.u.ui au.ul.ha.ul

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[30] Line 15: 叔金 ‹k.em› 'edict'; 犭冬北 ‹ja.as.ii› '*jasa* SUFF' (?); 亠 夂化 ‹UPPER ú.úr› 'northern division'; 冬丰 ‹as.ar› quiet ?; 亐 业平廿冇 ‹doro p.ai.ss:en› 'bureau of seals and tallies' GEN; 戈为共 ‹ś.a.rí› *langjun*; 上㐬 买关 火 ‹284.zů DAY.i ui› *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* (火 ‹ui› 'matter, affair, business'); 舟冬 ‹b.as› 'again'; 米 戈安 廿冇 *Rongshengsi* LOC; 亐 业平廿 ‹doro p.ai.ss› 'bureau of seals and tallies'.

[31] Line 16: 叉公 ‹ún.n› 'present, now'; 伏夂羽冇 ‹mu.ú.ji:en› 'sacred one' GEN; 关 叉雨 ‹HEAVEN m.in› (reign title of Daozong); 火安 朩圡火 ‹iú.ŋ c.eu.un› Yongzhou; 为太 友 ‹tu.uŋ tz› 同知 '*tongzhi* official title'; 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› 'become'; 叔金 雨仝 ‹k.em sỏ.or› 'edict received'.

亠 及化 朩安□[友] 夬夾虫 亦 刃丙比 业及仝 亠 十 为关火 令生万 为平
NORTH u.ur ci.ŋ [tz] au.y.iên ün rẻn.ei.ii p.o.or NORTH WEST a.an:un te.bu.ei a.ai

主 丕 戈圡 付几朩朹 夾火 犳朹 久 土仐尜当 □□□□ □□□□ 而犳 卆仐圡平 犳尜伏
hoŋ tai ś.eu bo.gi.ci:en y.uŋ ji.en da tủ.le.ge.er □□□□ □□□□ cau.ji nẻn.le.ha.ai ji.d:iń

冇仐 夬及子 乂火朩 列夫 伇关 为平 几卡 叉尘 而尜火关 ○ 久
hor.se au.o.ju x.ui.ci hu.rí 232.i a.ai ku.kả ún.cẻn ẻr.er.ui.i [32] da

[18] 屮仐北 允尜当 朩关禾尜付伏 戈幺业仐圡平 圣化由 业当 尜火 尣朹 关化
doro.se.ho zủ.ge.én c.i.is.d.bo.ń ś.iá.áŋ.le.ha.ai yỉ.ri.yỏ p.úŋ ŋ.iú sh:en i.ri

令金仐尜万 圡几 几穴犳 而为亐 赤及 为关 朩圡火 曲公 吊 业及仝 公平化-
t.em.le.ge.ei RECORD.gi ku.û.ji xỉ.a.al w.u a.an c.eu:un go.n ca p.o.or n.ai.ri-

圡亐列 乂圣毌几朹 万欠及子 仐叉 几仐尜尜 付冬 圣化由 曲公 吊关 关化
ha.al.hu xe.zải.il.g:en ei.qó.o.ju s.ún gi.le.ge.er b.as yỉ.ri.yỏ go.n ca.an i.ri

令金仐尜万 子火 几冋朹 芳火 友 业及仝 丸 万圡犳 令而子朩关 令夾
t.em.le.ge.ei ju.uŋ g.iŋ:en tu.uŋ tz p.o.or mú ei.eu.ji te.cau.ju.ar.i t.ur

丕 尜朹
tai ui:en[33]

[19] 艿公 及夲 犳 朩列火 佣当 伏仌夾 仃 几才圣 玊圡亐 大化 几冋朹
[yuan] o.oi giủ ar.hu.iú BORN:er ńi.ô.úr du g.ia.êm 160.ha.al dú.ur g.iŋ:en

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[32] Line 17: 叔金 ‹k.em› 'edict'; 而闲 ‹sỏ.gỏ› 'receive'; 乂火化尜 ‹x.ui.ri.ge› come CAUS(?); 亠及化 ‹NORTH u.ur› 'northern division'; 朩安□[友] ‹ci.ŋ (dź)› *chengzhi* 承旨 'recipient of edicts'; 刃丙比 ‹rẻn.ei.ii› 'served, after he served, having served'; 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› 'became'; 亠 NORTH 十 WEST 'north west'; 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› 'became'; 主 丕 戈圡 ‹hoŋ tai ś.eu› Huangtaishu (personal name); 付几朩朹 ‹bo.gi.ci:en› Bogici (personal name) GEN; 而犳 ‹cau.ji› 'military, warfare'; 乂火朩 ‹x.ui.ci› 'after he came'.

[33] Line 18: 朩关禾尜付伏 ‹c.i.is.d.bo.ń› 'filial piety'; 业当 尜火 尣 ‹p.oŋ ŋ.iú sh› '*fangniushi'* official title'; 关化 ‹i.ri› 'name, title'; 令金仐尜万 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› 'having been awarded'; 赤及 为关 朩圡火 曲公 吊 ‹w.ú a.an c.eu:un go.n ca› '*guancha* (official title) of Wu'an county'; 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› 'became, was made'; 付冬 ‹b.as› 'again'; 曲公 吊关 ‹go.n ca.an› '*guancha*: official title' GEN; 关化 ‹i.ri› 'name, title'; 令金仐尜万 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› 'having been awarded'; 子火 几冋 ‹ju.uŋ g.iŋ› 'the central capital' 中京 Zhongjing; 芳火 友 ‹tu.uŋ tz› '*tongzhi:* official title'; 业及仝 ‹p.o.or› 'become; 丕 尜 ‹tai ui› '*taiwei:* official title'.

北及 舟及 𠂉同村 今文方 业乐 圣 廿公村 业亥令村 仅买 丕 业及子舟伏
xu.u b.u l.iŋ:en s.ie.ên p.ah TWO ss.d:en p.úr.s.en jỉn.an 035 p.o.ju.bo.ń

又雨关 穴公亏亥 毛丰 丞丰 屋及玛 八圣万及玛 八土玛 叔金
m.in:i nai:d.al.úr ONE ai 160.ai KNOW.u.ji xe.zải.ei.u.ji x.eu.ji k.em

西关为丰北 甬気 公同 九丙太 今 兆 业及仝 向及火 玛 列虫禾𠂉 圭亏
xỉ.i.a.ar.ii ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ pu sh p.o.or hor.u.un giủ hu.iên.is.el ha.al

仅买公 米𠂉圭丰
jỉn.an:d ordo.le ha.ai[34]

[20] 火关 乖平圭丰 犭丰 亦𠂉舟伏 八圣万当 叉才 叔北公关 小 及化 与亥
ui.i jau.ul.ha.ai ja.ai ün.le.bo.ń xe.zải.ei.er ś.ia k.ii.ge.i siỏ u.ur deu.úr

屋及玛矢 及夯 朩车力丈 公亏 万欠夯 叉火 又关 仲公 与亥
KNOW.u.ji:de o.oi ci.ra.qo.sår 269.al ei.qó.oi ś.iú m.i iên.n deu.úr

屋及玛矢 及北 朩化当 丰 子太 友同 九亦 伞文 仃 兆 令 金𠂉公万 今文圣
KNOW.u.ji:de o.ii c.ur.er ai ju.uŋ tz.iŋ g.ün z.ie du sh t.em.le.ge.ei s.ie.êm

仲公 一 及化 𠂉圣列为 业及仝 刃万北 父 兆为买 九亥村 用火
ü.n NORTH u.ur l.êm.hu.a p.o.or rẻn.ei.ii HEAVEN REGION.a.an g.úr:en BORN:ui

屋及玛矢 及子叉 令 八化今公 为丰
KNOW.u.ji:de o.ju.ún te xe.ri.s:er a.ai[35]

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[34] Line 19: 用当 ‹BORN:er› 'born' PAST. '[He served as] 仃 九才圣 ‹du g.ia.êm› *dujian* 都監 'director in chief' in the 伏仌亥 ‹ń.ô.úr› 'circuit'. He was appointed 北及 舟及 𠂉同 ‹xu.ú b.ú l.iŋ› 戶部令 'director of the ministry of revenue' in the 大化 九同 ‹dú.úr g.iŋ› 'eastern capital' 東京 and was appointed to the 今文方 业乐 (廿) ‹s.ie.ên p.ah (ss)› 錢帛司 'bureau of coins and bureau of silk'. 圣 廿公村 ‹TWO ss.d:en› 'the two bureaus (genitive)'. 业亥令 ‹p.úr.se› is a common word; its meaning is not known. [He served for] 毛 丰 ‹ONE ai› 'one year' as 屋及玛 KNOW.u.ji 'administrator' [of the] 穴公亏亥 ‹nai:d.al.ur› 'officials (bureaucracy)' (穴 ‹nai›: head, official; 公 ‹d› PLUR)'; 叔金 ‹k.em› 'edict'; [he became the] 今 兆 ‹pu sh› *fushi* (副使) of the 甬気 公同 九丙太 ‹ca.aŋ n.iŋ g.iu.uŋ› Changning palace 長寧宮…

[35] Line 20: 小 ‹siỏ› ‹SOUTH› 及化 ‹u.ur› 'division, administration'; 与亥 屋及玛矢 ‹deu.úr KNOW.ú.ji:de›: 与亥 'together' 屋 'know, administer' 玛 ‹ji› SUFF = actor (?) 'he who administers: an administrator) 矢 ‹de› DAT/LOC; =同知 *tongzhi:* official title); 今火 又关 仲公 ‹s.iú m.i ü.n› *shumiyuan*; 与亥 屋及玛矢 ‹deu.ur KNOW.ú.ji:de› [as above]; 朩化当 ‹c.ur.ér› 'second'; 丰 ‹ai› 'year'; 子太 友同 九亦 ‹ju.uŋ tz.iŋ g.ün› 'Zhongjingjun' 伞文 仃 兆 ‹z.ie du sh› *jiedushi* 'military commissioner'; 金𠂉公万 ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› 'awarded title CONV'; 今文圣 仲公

[21] [Khitan script]
lỉ.u.ud.le.gi n.ai.r.ha.al.hu GREAT ui:de te.bu.310.ha.án ja.ha.ai.il.ha.rí.er

[Khitan script]
mo.ha.□ rẻn.ge.ii.□ t.ul.û.ii cẻn.bo.gi te.qu.a.an giủ dau.ul.le.ha.ai ui n.ó.úr

[Khitan script]
078.śi.mỉ.cẻn.er qi ho.a.an ci.er qú.kả ordo.u.ur hur.ú.un □□□□ o.oi

[Khitan script]
se.bu.ei.ii g.ia.êm m.en ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün t.em.le.ge.ei ei.al.ha.al p.o.or

[Khitan script]
ar.hu giủ 269.al[36]

[22] [Khitan script] [?] [Khitan script]
hu.sảr.(êm) hu ai:d ca.zủ.iń xe.se.ge.cẻn.er siỏ hu.ar p.o.ju.u.ji k.em sỏ.or a.ai

[Khitan script]
eu.e ńi.ô.úr ku.û.un eu.ur.ge.ún am.ul.ha.ar al.u.ji jỉn k.em ja.al.ha.ai SIX

[Khitan script]
u.ur tai oŋ p.o.or c.as.a.an nai hor.u.un n.ai.□.ha □.hu.iú ne.mú.dz.ún g.ir

[Khitan script]
x.ui.r.er se.ho.hu ei.qu.oi p.121 p.o.ju.ha.ai rí.i ja.al u.ji:en

[Khitan script]
nẻn.a jỉn sỏ.ju s.ii[37]

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s.ie.êm ü.n (?); [Khitan] ‹UPPER u.ur› ‘northern division’; [Khitan] l.êm.hu.a ‘林牙 *linya* (official title)’; [Khitan] ‹p.o.or› ‘became’; [Khitan] ‹HEAVEN› [Khitan] REGION.a.an [Khitan] g.ur:en (of the state?) [Khitan] BORN:ui [Khitan] KNOW.ú.ji:de ‘administrator’ (DAT/LOC).

[36] Line 21: [Khitan] ‹GREAT› [Khitan] ‹ui› ‘affair, business, achievement’; [Khitan] ‹qi› ‘that’ [Khitan] ‹ordo.u.ur› ‘ordo’; [Khitan] ‹hur.ú.un› ‘person in charge of’; [Khitan] ‹g.ia.êm m.en ui› *jianmenwei* (official title)’; [Khitan] ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› *shang jiangjun*: ‘senior general’ [Khitan] ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘having been granted the title’; [Khitan] ‹p.o.or› ‘became’.

[37] Line 22: [Khitan] ‘male PLUR: ‘[tent of] paternal uncles’ (?); [Khitan] ‹k.em› ‘edict’ [receive] PAST; [Khitan] ‹ń.ô.úr› ‘circuit’; [Khitan] ‹ku.û.un› ‘men’; [Khitan] ‹k.em› ‘edict’; [Khitan] ‹SIX u.ur› six *yuan*; [Khitan] ‹tai oŋ› ‘great prince’; [Khitan] ‹c.as.a.an› *jasa* GEN; [Khitan] ‹nai› ‘chief, head, official’, [Khitan] ‹hor.ú.un› ‘people’ GEN.

[23] [Kitan script]
n.ai.l.u.ji k.em sȯ.gȯ l.i ho.a.an s.em.ii te.bu.ei ji:en a.sår m.as.qu

[Kitan script]
s.ai m.en g.iú g.au.un ci.kå.d.ii 121.en.rí.ii dá.ha.ar.i tau.kå.le.ha.ai

[Kitan script]
tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en ha.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ sh t.em.le.ge.ei te.gė g.iŋ:en l.iu

[Kitan script]
ś.eu □□ go.n fu.un tu.uŋ tz p.o.or aú.ur DAY ji:en t.uh.ii cėn.bú.er

[Kitan script]
TEXT.ú s.úŋ.ul.ha.ai cu.ur.bun[38]

[24] [Kitan script]
□.le.□.ar □□ ha.ai ŋ.iú g.uŋ p.o.ju.ha.ai jiṅ ja.as.ii ś.ia k.em

[Kitan script]
rí.i.□.gȯ.l.ún THREE♂ MONTH.se p.o.ju.u.ho:de c.as a.an hor.u.un ei.ie.ra.u.ji

[Kitan script]
zů.ge.le.ge.ei xe.c.en cau.úr t.ian.tz am.ul.ha.ar qi te.bu.ei b.as a.am.iń

[Kitan script]
ei.qu.oi hu.iên.is.u.kå.ii ji.en ja.ai tů.ge.en ju.a.ar ordo.□.[u].dú x.ui.ci

[Kitan script]
i.ri:de.i an.i au.a.ar te.bu.al.u ji:en[39]

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[38] Line 23: [Kitan script] ‹k.em› 'edict; [Kitan script] ‹m.as.qu› 'elder' [Kitan script] ‹s.ai m.en› (?) [Kitan script] ‹tu.uŋ ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en xa.ia p.iŋ c.aŋ sh› *tongzhongshu menxia pingchangshi* 'jointly manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery';[Kitan script] ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› 'having been granted honorary title'; [Kitan script] ‹te.gė g.iŋ› 'southern capital›; [Kitan script] ‹l.iu ś.eu› *liushou* 'viceroy, regent'; [Kitan script] ‹go.n fú.un› '*guanfu:* official residence' GEN; [Kitan script] ‹tu.uŋ tz› '*tongzhi,* official title'; [Kitan script] p.o.or 'was'; [Kitan script] DAY; [Kitan script] TEXT.ú 'text on an inscription'.

[39] Line 24: [Kitan script] ‹k.em› 'edict'; [Kitan script] THREE♂ MONTH.se PLUR; [Kitan script] ‹xe.c.en› 'region, town, city, settlement'; [Kitan script] ‹cau.ur› 'military, war'; [Kitan script] ‹qi› 'that'; [Kitan script] ‹b.as› 'again'; [Kitan script] ‹ordo.□.dú› □ = [Kitan script] or [Kitan script] '*ordo*' DAT/LOC; [Kitan script] ‹x.ui.ci› 'come, came' CONV = 'after he had come'; [Kitan script] ‹i.ri:de› 'title, name' DAT/LOC.

[25] [Khitan]
nẻn □ jỉn sỏ.or giủ an.i a.am.ńi.er p.121 jỉn k.em sỏ.gỏ.l.ún b.as

[Khitan]
ei.eu.ji u.ur g.iŋ:en l.iu ś.eu p.o.or gi.ri x.ui.ri.ge.ei t.am.ar em:en t.ú

[Khitan]
ś.i.en ui KNOW.u.ji:de o.oi x.ul.ún.i s.em.ii hu.iên.is.le.ha.ai ji:en ja.ai

[Khitan]
m.as.qu □□□□ s.ai:en rí.i xe.zủ.ge.ei xe.zải.il.ge.e a.am.iń yủ giủ p.o.ju.ún

[Khitan]
k.em sỏ.or WEST ji.i.ju.un bả:d:er x.ui.ci[40]

[26] [Khitan]
eu.úr SIXTY TWO:de ei.qu.oi p.iau te.ge.le.ge.ei i.ri:de.i an.i □□□□□□:en

[Khitan]
299.a.am.ń.er xỉ.u.ji k.em sỏ.or t.iu.dû.bun tủ.ge.er au.a.ar p.od.l.ún

[Khitan]
jau.ul.h.ai SIX ai:se s.a.ai GREAT ORDO.ó.o.ón EIGHT yô.iú p.o.o ai nai
[Khitan]
MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY:de eu.úr SIXTY SEVEN:de □.én.□ t.em.n åm:de.i

[Khitan]
s.em.ii.er tu.úr.bun u.un sỏ.or xe.d yỉ.cẻn.i[41]

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[40] Line 25: [Khitan] ‹k.em› ‘edict’; [Khitan] ‹sỏ.gỏ.l.ún› ‘receive’ PAST; [Khitan] ‹b.as› ‘again’; [Khitan] ‹u.ur g.iŋ:en› ‘supreme capital’ GEN; [Khitan] ‹l.iu ś.eu› ‘*liushou*’; [Khitan] ‹p.o.or› ‘be, become’ PAST; [Khitan] ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› ‘come CAUS CONV’ [Khitan] ‹t.am.ar› Tamar (place name: Ch. 塌母 Tamu); [Khitan] em:en ‘place’ GEN; [Khitan] ‹t.û ś.i.en› ‘*dujian*’ (?) [Khitan] ‹ui› ‘affairs, matters’; [Khitan] ‹KNOW.u.ji:de› ‘administrator’ DAT/LOC; [Khitan] ‹m.as.qu› ‘elder’; [Khitan] ‹k.em sỏ.or› ‘edict received’: [Khitan] ‹WEST› [Khitan] bả:d:er ‘place’ PLUR ACC; [Khitan] ‹x.ui.ci› ‘came’ CONV. = ‘after he arrived at the western places’.

[41] Line 26: [Khitan] ‹eu.úr› ‘years of age 歲’; [Khitan] ‘sixty two’ LOC; [Khitan] ‹k.em sỏ.or› ‘edict received’; [Khitan] ‹SIX ai:se› ‘six year’ PLUR; [Khitan] ‹s.a.ai› ‘be at’ CONV… [Khitan] ‹GREAT ORDO.u.o.ón› ‘Da’an (reign period)’; [Khitan] ‘eight’ [Khitan] ‹yô.ú› ‘black’; [Khitan] ‹p.o.o› ‘snake’; [Khitan] ‹ai› ‘year’; [Khitan] ‹nai› ‘first (also: ‘head, official’); [Khitan] ‹MONTH› [Khitan] ‹TWENTY› [Khitan] ‹THREE› [Khitan] DAY LOC [Khitan] ‹eu.úr› ‘age’; [Khitan] ‹SIXTY› [Khitan] SEVEN LOC … [Khitan] ‹s.em.ii.er› ‘fell ill’ PAST; [Khitan] ‹tu.úr.bun› ‘died’ PAST.

[27] [Kitan script]
ś.ul.i jỉn.an.er bú.a t.ul.i û.ji p.o.ju.ha.al s.i.de □□ ei.u.ji p.ai

[Kitan script]
ss ca.bu ss m.in xỉ.u.ji hu.iên s.ó.ul.ún m.em:en 194.a □.is û.ul.ge.er qi ai EIGHT

[Kitan script]
MONTH NINE DAY:de ún.er TOMB? t.iu.dz xor.u.un ETERNAL ńi.qu.il śỉ.ń mó:t:en

[Kitan script]
a.am.iń ne.ra ńi.l.û.ui ji.en.i a.ad.bun c.iau.qú.ui nai c.aŋ ci.ŋ ŋ.ie.ên □.em[42]

[28] [Kitan script]
aú.ui ś.ia KNOW.er c.eu a.ai GREAT ho.mú.er o.ju.ha.ai na.as.ha.án doro

[Kitan script]
k.ii.û.ji p.al.se.ha.343 s.ai p.oŋ:on hor.a.ad ś.a.rí:d an.le.ha.ar iú.iú g.uŋ:un

[Kitan script]
c.ar hó.le.bo.ń:de.i po.mu.fẻi s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un siỏ h.ar.i i.ri:de o.ju.iń □.ŋ x.iŋ:en

[Kitan script]
ho.a.an au.ul.ha.al.iń:de.i iú.lỉ 307.s.ii yỏ.ún ku.û.un ś.mỉ.le.g.er ś.iá.ah □□[43]

[29] [Kitan script]
go.t ü ei.ie po.mu.fẻi qudug yỉ.ra.i yô.cẻn.er ku hó.hu.hu.mú s.i ho.a siỏ

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[42] Line 27: [Kitan script] ‹p.ai ss› ‘bureau of tallies’; [Kitan script] ‹ca.bu ss› [bureau of finance](?); [Kitan script] ‹qi› ‘that’; [Kitan script] ‹ai› ‘year’; [Kitan script] EIGHT; [Kitan script] MONTH; [Kitan script] NINE; [Kitan script] DAY:de ‘on the day’; [Kitan script] ‹ńi.qu.il› [clan name]; [Kitan script] ‹śỉ.ń› [name before marriage, née, Mme.] GEN; [Kitan script] ‹mo:t:en› ‘wife, female’ PLUR GEN [Kitan script] ‹ne.ra› ‘tomb’ [Kitan script] ‹c.iau.qú.ui› ‘Chinese’ [Kitan script] ‹nai› ‘official, head’ [Kitan script] ‹c.aŋ ci.ŋ ŋ.í.ên› [Chinese name: Chang Chengyan (?)].

[43] Line 28: [Kitan script] ‹aú.ui› ‘*niangzi,* royal lady’; [Kitan script] ‹KNOW.er c.eu a.ai› ‘ as he was the local prefect (*zhizhou*)’; [Kitan script] ‹GREAT ho.mú.er› ‘the great catalpa coffin 大辛宫 *da zi gong*’ [Kitan script] ‘caused to be closed’; [Kitan script] ‹k.ii.ü.ji› ‘this is called’; [Kitan script] ‹doro› ‘ceremony’ 禮; [Kitan script] ‹na.as.ha.án› ‘laying to rest’.The people [Kitan script] ‹hor.a.ad› (relations, family members) of the [Kitan script] ‹s.ai p.oŋ:on› *‘caifang’* 採訪 (= Yelü Dilie) and the [Kitan script] ‹ś.a.rí:d› ‘court attendants’ 郎君 [Kitan script] ‹c.ar› ‘in the past’ (?). [Kitan script] ‹g.uŋ:un› ‘his excellency’ GEN; [Kitan script] ‹hó.le.bo.ń:de.i› ‘from the imperial line…’ (?). Note: [Kitan script] ‹GREAT ho.mú.er› = *da zi gong*, literally ‘great catalpa palace’: the coffin of an emperor (or noble).

ó.ji.en ke.ho.gi jỉn.gi giủ å.an 079 å.iú x.ui.r.bo.ń k.ii.û.ji s.iaŋ g.uŋ ku

BORN:i t.iu.rẻn KNOW.hu.as:en rẻn.er yủ.úr s.eu.ii dau.ui.il.ha.ar us.gi.dú

nẻn.ei COMPOSE.cẻn.er lỉ.u.ud.le.gi hur.ú.ur mo.ha.sår (=as?) śi.mỉ.le.ge.ei

307.ho t.as.hó RECORD.g.én ha.bu.cẻn ETERNAL.il.ha.ar eu.uni[44]

[30] giủ go.er ji:en ku.û.dú m.rẻn.tz KNOW.iń giủ áŋ.il.ia 307.ei t.ên.is.er giủ

rí.i RECORD.g.er s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un mó.t p.ar THREE BIG ŋ.u s.í śỉ mo.qú iên.ia.ah

ja.ri.qó.ur bu.iń:en go.er.en n.iŋ.c.e ś.a.rí:en bo.qo bo.ho.án TWO BIG ś.ün.al

pu.is.iń na.ha.án:er te.qu.dź.ún s.êŋ.dú û.ul.ge.én c.ur.er rí.□ pu.is.iń

ci.lú.dû tz.iŋ 160[45]

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[44] Line 29: ‹go.t› 'tent' PLUR… ‹qudug› 'good fortune' ‹ku› 'man, men'; ‹siỏ› 'south *or* tribe›. ‹x.ui.r.bo.ń› stem ‹x.ui-› 'come' SUFF; ‹k.ii.û.ji› 'it is called'; ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› '*xianggong* (相公) lord, excellency'; ‹ku› 'man'; ‹hur.ú.ur› 'person in charge'; ‹us.gi.dú› 'writing' LOC ‹COMPOSE› [the text of the epitaph] ‹BORN:i›; ‹t.iu.rẻn› 'virtue'; ‹KNOW.hu.as:en› 'administrator' GEN; ‹rẻn.er› 'to do, to make' PAST; ‹yủ.ur› 'initial, first' ‹RECORD.g.er› 'record' PAST

[45] Line 30: ‹go.er› 'tent, lineage' ACC; ‹ku.û.dú› 'man, men' DAT/LOC; ‹KNOW.ń› ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un› *xianggong* 'lord, excellency' GEN; ‹mó.t p.ar› 'wives, spouses'; ‹THREE›; ‹BIG›; ‹ŋ.ú s.ie› [personal name: Yujie]; ‹śỉ› 'name before marriage, née, Mme'; ‹ja.ri.qó.ur› 'prime minister' ACC; ‹go.er.en› 'tent, lineage GEN'; ‹ś.a.rí:en› '*langjun,* court attendant' GEN; ‹bo.qo› 'son, child'; ‹bo.hu.án› 'children'; ‹TWO› ‹BIG› ‹pu.is.iń› '*furen,* lady'; ‹na.ha.án:er› 'maternal uncle ACC'; ‹s.êŋ.dú› (? related to *xiangwen*?); ‹û.ul.ge.én› 'married, to be given in marriage'; ‹c.ur.én› 'second; ‹pu.is.iń› '*furen,* lady' ‹ci.lú.dú› (perhaps: 'the Chulud tribe'?)

[31] [Kitan script]
tai ś.i:de û.ul.ge.én c.ur.én p.úr.bú.ń śǐ m.ô.qú □.i.□ □ ui bo.qo bo.hu.án

[Kitan script]
THREE BIG t.ud pu.is.iń na.ha.án:er ho s.êŋ.dú û.ul.ge.én c.ur.er ta.aŋ śǐ:ń

[Kitan script]
BORN:én go.er:en ei.au.u sh n.u ś.a.rí.de û.ul.ei ún.e p.il.rẻŋ ei.ie dur:én

[Kitan script]
t.ad.i ên a.ar.ún ho śǐ:ń mó:t i.an s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un siỏ hu.ar.i i.ri.de

[Kitan script]
o.dź.ho[46]

[32] [Kitan script]
ar.ó.ul.h.ai UPPER te.gẻ [LOWER] śǐ p.o.gỏ.l.i c.eu TWO ai p.úr.se giủ rí.i ai:se

[Kitan script]
rẻn.ei.ii c.ai eu.e BORN.i a.ai n.ai.c.er ś.en.le.ge e.ci te.ge.ei a.ar c.i.is.de

[Kitan script]
tau.kả.le.ha.a s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un ho.a.□.ar rẻn.le.ge.er 326.le.ha.rí:én ji:en eu.úr

[Kitan script]
ge.le.gi n.ai.ri.ha.al.hu ui:de.i p.û.úr s.yủ te.qu a.as tủmu.úr rí.l.iń ii.ń mó te[47]

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[46] Line 31: [Kitan] ‹tai ś.i:de› *'taishi'* LOC; [Kitan] ‹û.ul.ge.én› 'married'; [Kitan] ‹c.úr.én› 'second'; [Kitan] ‹śǐ› 'name before marriage, née, Mme.'; [Kitan] ‹m.ó.qú› 'big, eldest'; [Kitan] ‹bo.qo› 'son, child'; [Kitan] ‹bo.hu.án› 'children'; [Kitan] ‹THREE› [Kitan] BIG [Kitan] ‹t.ud› (personal name); [Kitan] ‹pu.is.iń› '*furen,* lady'; [Kitan] ‹na.ha.án:er› 'maternal uncles' ACC; [Kitan] ‹s.êŋ.dú› '*xiangwen'* (?) LOC; [Kitan] ‹û.ul.ge.én› 'married'; [Kitan] ‹c.ur.én› 'second'; [Kitan] ‹ta.aŋ› 'Tang' (family name); [Kitan] ‹śǐ:ń› 'name before marriage, Mme' GEN; [Kitan] ‹BORN:én›; [Kitan] ‹go.er:en› 'tent' GEN; [Kitan] ‹ei.au.u sh n.u› 'Yao Shinu' (personal name); [Kitan] ‹ś.a.rí.de› 'court attendant' LOC; [Kitan] ‹û.ul.ei› 'given = married to' CONV; [Kitan] ‹dur:én› 'fourth'; [Kitan] ‹śǐ:ń› 'name before marriage'; [Kitan] ‹mó:t› 'mother, wife, female' PLUR; [Kitan] ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un› '*xianggong,* lord'; [Kitan] ‹siỏ› 'tribe, south'; [Kitan] ‹i.ri.de› 'name, title' LOC.

[47] Line 32: [Kitan] ‹UPPER te.gẻ› [LOWER] (north south) ‹śǐ› [Kitan] ‹c.eu› (州) [Kitan] ‹TWO›; [Kitan] ‹ai› 'year' [Kitan] ‹ai:se› 'year (plural)'; [Kitan] ‹BORN.i›; [Kitan] ‹a.ai› COP CONV; [Kitan] ‹n.ai.c.er› 'harmony'; [Kitan] ‹c.i.is› 'blood relations'; [Kitan] ‹de› LOC ; [Kitan] ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ.un› '*xianggong,* lord' GEN: [Kitan] ‹eu.úr› 'years of age'; [Kitan] ‹mó› 'wife, female'; [Kitan] ‹te› 'plural ending for females'.

[33] ☒☒☒☒☒☒☒圡 戈谷 今秀伏 令芀 九关 伏兮火 □力 及化 九同冇 仐丙
[damaged] eu Ź.ï pu.is.iń te.gė śi̇:i ń.iau.ui □.qo u.ur g.iŋ:en l.iu
戈圡 可伏 戈冇 九火 今秀伏冇 关化 夫当 丹列出 丰岙 包 又及 丙闲欠乢
ś.eu kė.iń ś.en g.ui pu.is.iń:en i.ri rí.én bo.hu.án ai:d THREE♂ m.o ei.gȯ.qo.ho

令生及平 杰化岙 兆丙 令火 仐岙 芀岙 仐并 九尖 九关 仐丹 丙叉 今秀伏
te.bu.u.ul c.ur.er xu.ju t.un s.er cu.er s.iaŋ g.uŋ śi̇.i s.312 ei.ún pu.is.iń

丄九 业兮当 吊先 丈 犭冇 佣岙 丙 乇
284.zů p.iáu.er ca.zů MONTH ji:en BORN:er mó ONE[48]

[34] ☒☒☒☒☒☒ 业亦仐 午列丰乢 令岙券杰 公及廾化 戈卡廾平列 令余为火
[damaged] p.úr.se ů.h.ai.ho te.ge.e.ci n.o.ó.ur tau.kȧ.u.ul.hu te.qu.a.iú

杰关秀 犭冇 乂九岙丙 夾及冇 囯关冗乢 几冗火仐九 亐岙仐列 亦当
c.i.is ji:en xe.zů.ge.ei au.o.ón hó.i.û.ii ku.û.ud.le.gi doro.d.le.hu ün.én

乂火化岙丙 丙公 丙岙 九火叉 亐为出 仅 戈交车友 用交 叉券 又
x.ui.ri.ge.ei mo:n mó:er g.ui.ún doro.a.án jı̇n ś.í.ra.dz il.ie ún.e GREAT

仐仌平叉 令生为出 不乖 又火叉 亐及犭
s.ô.ul.ún te.bu.a.án xa.iȧŋ m.ui.ún al.u.ji[49]

[35] ☒☒☒☒☒ 仐仌平叉 令生为出 灸岙 丈矢 业为夫仐列 廾丙仐圭亐列 仐生
[damaged] s.ô.ul.ún te.bú.a.án hur.er MONTH:de p.a.rí.le.hu u.ju.le.ha.al.hu se.bu

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48 Line 33: 今秀伏 ‹pu.is.iń› ‘*furen*, lady’; 令芀 ‹te.gė› ‘south: here: clan name’; 九关 ‹śi̇:i› ‘née, Mme’ GEN (?); 及化 九同冇 ‹u.ur g.iŋ.en› ‘supreme capital’ GEN 仐丙 戈圡 ‹l.iu ś.eu› ‘regent’ 今秀伏冇 ‹pu.is.iń:en› ‘*furen,* lady’ GEN 关化 ‹i.ri› ‘name, title’ 丹列出 ‹bo.hu.án› ‘children’ 丰岙 ‹ai:d› ‘male’ PLUR; 包 THREE♂ ‘three (MASC.); 又及 ‹m.o› ‘big, eldest’; 杰化岙 ‹c.ur.er› ‘second’; 兆丙 ‹xu.ju› Huju (personal name); 令火 ‹t.un› ‘youngest, last in a series’ (?); 仐并 九尖 ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› ‘*xianggong,* lord’; 今秀伏 ‹pu.is.iń› ‘*furen,* lady’; 丄九 ‹284.zů› ‘referring to emperor’ (?); 业兮当 ‹p.iáu.én› ‘died’ (?); 丈 ‹TENT›; 佣岙 ‹BORN:er›; 丙 ‹mó› ‘female’; 乇 ONE ‘one’.

49 Line 34: 公及廾化 ‹n.o.ó.ur› ‘circuit, tribe’; 杰关秀 ‹c.i.is› ‘blood relation’ 几冗火仐九 ‹ku.û.ud.le.gi› ‘educated, brought up’ (?); 几 ‘man’, 仐九 ‹le.gi› is a causative suffix: ‹ku.û.ud.le.gi› ‘caused to be an adult person’ = ‘brought up’ (?); 亐岙仐列 ‹doro.d.le.hu›; 亐为出 doro.a.án; 亐 ‘ceremony ~ ritual ~ seal’; 岙 might be a plural suffix; 乂火化岙丙 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› ‘come CAUS CONV’: ‘caused to come, brought’; 丙公 ‹mó:n› ‘female, mother, wife GEN’; 又 ‹GREAT› 令岙券杰 ‹te.ge.e.ci› ‘after he died (?)’

ji:en s.iaŋ g.uŋ a.ai ńi.m te.ge.er ho.a.an xe.dú.ún go.er.ún g.u.uh ś.a.rí:de

ne.ra:de RECORD.g.én COMPOSE.l.a jỉn a.án.p.er xỉ.a.al RECORD.g.ei na.as.hu.al.ún qi

ja.al.iń p.am p.o.ji.ha.án giů al.l.u.ji ne.rå:en TEXT.ú[50]

[36] ☒☒☒☒

[damaged] qu.□ WHITE.o te.qu.dź.ún s.êŋ.dú iė.i.310.ge.er g.u.uh

ui.il.ha.én po.mu.fėi.i eu.ul.g:en KNOW.ii c.i.is.a mó.er se.bú:de hor.ei.én.er

s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un rėn:ei hu.mú ho.én us.gi dau.ui śi.qu t.em.le.ge.ei śi.qu

p.al.i giů aú.ur.ó.ui giů t.em.ei a.án mó:er:er 046.al.ha.al RECORD.g:er

RECORD.g.én te.gu:[51]

[37] ☒☒

[damaged]ü.ji hó.le.bun RECORD.e hor.bo.ń oŋ:on ên.se s.a.ar t.ur.er n.on:de

ün.le.ge.ei BORN.i n.i.gu n.ad.bú se.bu.al.ún mó.ar deu.lỉ jỉn.an ordo.le

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[50] Line 35: ‹húr.er› ‘three’; TENT LOC; ‹p.a.rí.le.hu›: possibly related to Bali, a Kitan clan name; ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› ‘general (*jiangjun*)’ ‹a.ai› COP CONV ‘being’ ‹te.ge.én› ‘died, deceased’; xe.dú.ún go.er.ún ‘horizontal tents’ GEN; ‹g.u.uh› Gu (personal name); ‹ś.a.rí:de› ‘court attendant, *langjun*’ LOC; ‹ne.ra:de› ‘tomb’ LOC; ‹RECORD.g.én› ‘inscribe’ PAST; ‹qi› ‘that’; ‹ne.ra:en› ‘tomb’ GEN ; ‹TEXT.ú› ‘text’.

[51] Line 36: ‘mountain/tomb’; ‹s.êŋ.dú› *xiangwen*; KNOW.ii ‘administer 知’; ‹c.i.is.a› ‘blood relations’; ‹mó.er› ‘mother/wife’; ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un› *xianggong* GEN; ‹rėn:ei› ‘having served in the capacity of’; ‹us.gi› ‘writing’ ‹t.em.le.ge.ei› ‘granted an honorary title PASS/CAUS.CONV’ ‹RECORD.g:er›(誌) inscribe’ PAST ‹RECORD.g.én te.gu› ‘the inscription (誌) says (曰)’

[Khitan script]
ha.ai.û.er 284.zů x.úr.cěn.u.dú ku.kả ún.l.ún na.ar c.as.a ún.i

[Khitan script]
lỉ.u.ud.le.g:en s.ún g.er REGION.a.al.er 326.le.ha.ai 079 160.ai

[Khitan script]
xe.zů.ge.er ńi.l.û.ui yů.úr û.úr na.as.bo.ń[52]

[38] ☒ [Khitan script]
[damaged] 063.ci.173.er ui hó.cěn.hu.dź p.od.ún HEAVEN mó:t au.ui.i a.ai

[Khitan script]
hu.mú.ho.én mó.ie p.on tůmu.úr c.eu al.a.ar us.gi ts.ar a:en □.ur:de le.bu.qu

[Khitan script]
o.oi SIX ai.se au.a.ar s.a.ar p.al.343 YOUNG:qú:er t.ên.is xe.se.ge.l □.ún.e

[Khitan script]
x.an.rí:er ün.n tu ś.iá.ah COMPOSE.i ordo.ó.ji då po.rěn.zů:de zů.er.ei aú.ur.le.hu.ai

[Khitan script]
b.u[53]

[39] [Khitan script]
ŋ.u.dź.ha.ai KNOW.iń po.qo.ud.u.ji iu ai.ri.ún al.i mú.158 u.ji ei.u hur.ú

[Khitan script]
co.ju.ha.ai doro.l.ún x.ui.ri.bo.ń c.eu.ul.ûn 307.ei dau.ui il.ha.ar k.ii.ge.ei

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[52] Line 37: [Khitan script] ‹hor.bo.ń› Horbun (曷魯本) 'personal name'; [Khitan script] ‹oŋ:on› prince GEN; [Khitan script] ‹t.úr.er› 'fourth' (masc. form); [Khitan script] ‹n.on:de› 'generation' LOC; [Khitan script] ‹BORN.i› 'born'; [Khitan script] ‹n.i.gu› 'gold' or 'Jurchen'; [Khitan script] ‹n.ad.bú› (~‹bud›) '*nabo*'; [Khitan script] '*ordo*' [Khitan script] ‹284.zů› 'imperial/emperor'; [Khitan script] ‹c.as.a› '*jasa*'; [Khitan script] ‹REGION.a.al.er› [Khitan script] 'region' ACC; [Khitan script] ‹na.as.bo.ń› 'peace, at peace'.

[53] Line 38: [Khitan script] ‹HEAVEN›; [Khitan script] ‹mó:t› 'mothers, wives, females'; [Khitan script] ‹tůmu.ur c.eu› 'ten thousand districts' (?) (or perhaps a place name); [Khitan script] ‹SIX›; [Khitan script] ‹ai.se› 'years' [Khitan script] ordo.ó.ji '*ordo*'; [Khitan script] då 'several'; [Khitan script] ‹us.gi› 'writing'; [Khitan script] YOUNG:qú:er 'young'.

[Kitan small script]
u.ur.dú cu.ji hor.l.u.ui s.yủ MONTH ji.l.i y ta.u DAY qi sỏ.ho b.al.hu hó jỉn.gi

[Kitan small script]
eu.ul u.ji mo.qó od.u.ji yô t.iu.i hor.u mú.zỏ dû.ui t.em.n am sỏ.mú p.ar[54]

[40] [Kitan small script]
1000 heu.úr 10000 n.am.úr ü ei.eu.ur.iń.er xe.ń.ún bải.al ó.ji s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un

[Kitan small script]
kẻ.is ne.ra GREAT ordo.ó.o.ón EIGHT yô.iú p.o.o ai EIGHT MONTH

[Kitan small script] ○ [Kitan small script][=[Kitan small script]][Kitan small script] [Kitan small script] □[Kitan small script] [Kitan small script]□ [Kitan small script]
SEVEN DAY us.gi s.iaŋ g.uŋ do hor.a o.oi □.al.hu n.□ ia deu.un

[Kitan small script]
p.iáu.er l.iu g.ia n.u tai sh:en bo.qo car.a rẻn:er[55]

6.7 Partial translation of the Epitaph of Yelü Dilie

This is a partial and provisional translation. It aims at no more than giving the general gist of the text.

Inscription engraved on the tomb of Lord Yelü Saran (*Sarhan), noble granted two hundred households, land grant noble granted two thousand households, dynasty founding duke, Qishui prefecture … chancellery manager of affairs, joint manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery, acting defender in chief, minister of the court of palace entertainments,

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[54] Line 39: [Kitan small script] ‹KNOW.ń› ‘administer’ GEN; [Kitan small script] ‹hur.ú› ‘person in charge’; [Kitan small script] ‹doro.l.ún› ‘seal ~ ritual’ ([Kitan small script] l.ún is a past tense suffix, so [Kitan small script] must be a verb here); [Kitan small script] ‹MONTH›; [Kitan small script] ‹ta.ú› ‘long, eternal’; [Kitan small script] ‹DAY›; [Kitan small script] ‹qi› ‘that’

[55] Line 40: [Kitan small script] ‹THOUSAND heu.úr TEN THOUSAND n.am.úr› ‘thousand springs ten thousand autumns 千春萬秋’; [Kitan small script] ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ:un› *xianggong* (lord) GEN; [Kitan small script] ‹kẻ.is› ‘bury’ SUFF?; [Kitan small script] ‹ne.ra› ‘tomb’; [Kitan small script] ‹GREAT ordo.u.o.ón› ‘Da’an reign period’; [Kitan small script] ‘eight’; [Kitan small script] ‹yô.ú› ‘black’; [Kitan small script] ‹p.o.o› ‘monkey’; [Kitan small script] ‹ai› ‘year’; [Kitan small script] ‘eight’; [Kitan small script] ‘month’; [Kitan small script] ‘seven’; [Kitan small script] ‘day’; [Kitan small script][=[Kitan small script]][Kitan small script] ‹us.gi› ‘writing’ (?); [Kitan small script] ‹s.iaŋ g.uŋ› *xianggong*; [Kitan small script] ‹do› LOC; [Kitan small script] ‹hor.a› ‘people’ (?); [Kitan small script] ‹ia deu.un› ‘elder brothers and younger brothers’ GEN; [Kitan small script] ‹l.iu g.ia n.ú› Liu Jianu (name); [Kitan small script] ‹tai sh:en› *taishi* GEN; [Kitan small script] ‹bo.qo› ‘son’; [Kitan small script] ‹car.a› ‘Chara’ (name); [Kitan small script] ‹rẻn:er› ‘make’ PAST.

military commissioner of the [Linhai] army of the Great Central Liao Kitan State.

Composed by Yelü Gu, administrator in charge of the division of written matters, member of the of the … *jasa* (tribal unit in the *ordo*), member of the board of court attendants of the bureau of seals and tallies of the younger paternal line of the horizontal tents of the khan.

I have heard it said that families which accumulate goodness are sure to have abundant good fortune…. in the border regions of the khan… the tribal units of the four regions … at the time of … nine grandsons… In the Chinese writing …

The name of his excellency was *Diren, and his second name was *Sarhan. He was a man of the tent of the *yilijin* *Puguji of imperial descent of the six divisions, an eighth generation descendant of *Xedeń Tira.

He was appointed to the position of member of the bureau of court attendants of the Yelü *miri* of the *shilie* of the tribes of the southern division…He was promoted to the *jasa* of the tribe of blood relations of the brothers of the emperor Dezu… He was promoted to *yilijin* of the … second division of the five and six administrations … of the northern branch of the brothers (of the emperor)… *yilijin* fifth six divisions tribe …

They had two children. The eldest was … *Puguji. In the middle period of the Da'an period, *Holebon *yuyue,* *Huamago *yilijin*… *Yilin *Kugul, *langjun.* His wife, Mme. … was laid to rest at … *nabo*. Of these two, the second son was *Sarhan Lebuh, *xiangwen*. In the first year(s) of the reign of Taizong, he was the grand *xiangwen* of the five seals of the southwest. At a battle at … settlement… he served the clan of the emperor. He had two wives. The second son was *Horbun *Heu. His official title was investigation commissioner.

He served two khans. At the time of Taizong he was made… in that place… he was awarded the title of investigation commissioner. In the time of the Emperor Tianshou (Shizong) … An edict was received … his grandfather … of the tent of Tiela *yilijin* … court attendant of the lineage of the elder brothers… [Heluben Hou's] wife was *Huguji, of the *Isigi clan … He was granted the title of… His wife was *Doloer, granddaughter of Mme *Gimu, Lady *Paril (Bali) … of the great tent of the maternal uncles…

The two of them had two children. The younger was Shanning Guangfonu, *taishi*. At the time of Shengzong … battle… title of *dushi*… His wife was *Chang'e *furen.* The eldest, the child of … *taishi,* they had two children (sons): the eldest was Wang Yu, born into the tent of … *yuyue* .... He was promoted to the position of administrator… The second son…General, deputy chief administrator… His wife, the royal lady *Isin. They had two children. The eldest was … He was granted the honorary title

of administrator in charge of the Dunmu Palace… the Rongsheng bureau… In the year of the red tiger, the first month, on the twenty ninth day, he was born…

His relations with his brothers were harmonious (?) … In the fifteenth year of the Chongxi period, the year of the red dog, the beginning year, at [the court of] emperor Xingzong …'

By edict he was appointed court attendant in charge of the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* in the bureau of seals and tallies. Later… in the *Rongshengsi* … He was a court attendant in the bureau of seals and tallies … At the time of the current emperor Daozong he was appointed the chief administrator of Yongzhou…. By imperial edict… he was sent to… receiver of edicts of the northern division … The uncle of the emperor, *Bogici…

After he was awarded the title of ox-herding official, he was made the investigation officer of Wu'an county. Again, he was awarded the title of investigation officer and also made chief administrator of the central capital… He served as director in chief in the circuit. He was appointed director of the ministry of revenue in the eastern capital and was appointed to the bureau of coins and bureau of silk. He served for one year as administrator of officials. By imperial edict, he was made deputy commander of the Changning palace… In the second year he was given the title of military commissioner of the Army of the Central Capital. He became the *linya* of the northern administration. He served as administrator in the land of the Heaven Region (?)…

Great achievements… he was granted the title of palace gate guard and senior general… He became a member of the personal guards of the tents of the paternal uncles. By edict … he was made great prince of the six divisions … the officials and the people of the *jasa*... By imperial edict he was granted the honorary title of joint manager of affairs with the secretariat chancellery and regent of the southern capital…

By imperial edict, for three months … town, settlement … military/war… he again came to the *ordo*... By imperial edict … he again became the regent of the supreme capital and the local administrator of Tamar. By imperial edict, after he arrived in the western places…

At the age of sixty two … by imperial edict… he was there for six years. On the 23rd day of the first month of the year of the black snake, in the eighth year of the Da'an period, he fell ill and died…

That year, on the ninth day of the eighth month, in a mountain tomb… his wife, Mme. *Niquil… the Chinese chief official Chang Chengyan…

The great catalpa coffin was closed. This is called the ceremony of laying to rest. The family members of Yelü Dilie and the court attendants…

His excellency Qudug… in control of writing, composed the text…

His excellency had three wives/consorts. The first was Yujie, of the lineage of the prime minister. They had two children… the second, a lady of the Chulud tribe. She married … *taishi*. The eldest child had three children. The eldest married Lady *Tud… married … *xiangwen* of the maternal uncles. The second Mme Tang was married to *Yaoshinu, court attendant….

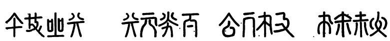
In the upper and lower regions he spent two years. His relations with his blood relations were harmonious… He was appointed regent of the supreme capital. He had three male children. The eldest… the second was Huju, the youngest was … He had one daughter… He educated his blood relations… after he died…

Yelü Gu, of the horizontal tents, court attendant, on the tomb, recorded this text on the tomb.

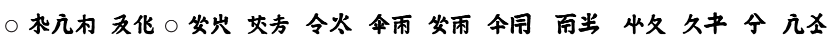
The inscription says: Born of the fourth generation of prince *Horbun… the Jurchen *nabo, ordo, jasa* and regions at peace… Heaven mother … ten thousand districts … six years … The administrator, the person in charge… ritual… long eternal day… Thousand springs ten thousand autumns… buried … tomb.

On the seventh day of the eighth month of the eighth year, *renshen*, the year of the black monkey, of the Da’an period… Chara, son of Liu Jianu, *taishi,* made this.

6.8 Kitan text of the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi[56]

Title:  [57]

[1] 
s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó.n g.en.ûn c.ai [ah] w.un[58]

[2] 
ci.g.en u.ur ŋ.iú y.ên t.uŋ z.iŋ ŋ.in s.iŋ cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu g.êm

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[56] The text is in *Research* and Chinggeltei 2002. See also Zhang and Schlepp, 1998; Wang Jingru 王靜如 1933; Yan Wanzhang 閻萬章 1982. ○ indicates several empty spaces in the inscription, preceding certain words to indicate respect. It also separates lines of rhymed verse.

[57] The title is in a type of seal script, in which the graphs are arranged in four groups of four. They correspond to [illegible] in the cursive script. This repeated in line [1] of the epitaph which follows.

[58] Line 1: ‹s.y.iên ii› [illegible] ‘Xuanyi: name of the empress’; [illegible] ‹neu.e› ‘earth’; [illegible] ‹mo.n› ‘mother’ (-n genitive); [illegible] ‹g.en.ún› ‘sadness, grief’; [illegible] ‹c.ah› ([illegible]) [illegible] ‹w.un› Ch.冊文 *cewen* ‘text’. Translation: ‘Eulogy for the Earth Mother (Kitan honorific term for ‘empress’) Xuanyi.’ The graph [illegible] is probably [illegible]; the rubbing of the original text could be read either way.

[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ○ [Kitan] ○ [Kitan] ○ [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
g.iau g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu 261.zů DAY.i ui xe.zải.ei.ii us.gi hur.ú.un ui KNOW.i

[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] ○ [Kitan]
w.u g.î ui.i pú.u ku ei.ra.u.ud g.u.uh[59]

[3] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
k.em sỏ.or COMPOSE.a.ar[60]

[4] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
GREAT t.iủ.rẻn yủ.úr ai ai:en se.le.bo s.iau.qú tau.lí.a TEN ONE MONTH

[Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
YELLOW êm.a ho.le.bun THREE DAY WHITE te.qo.a[61]

[5] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan] [Kitan]
s.y.iên i.i neu.e mó eu.kả.ún hu.ho:en n.ad.bu.d.i l.iu.rẻn.én ei.tủ.ji

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[59] Line 2: [Kitan] ‹ci.g.en u.ur› ‘left division’; [Kitan] ‹ŋ.iú y.ên t.uŋ z.iŋ ŋ.in s.iŋ› *yuyuan* 御院 *tongjin* 通進 *yinqing* 銀青; [Kitan] ‹cau.úŋ l.uh da.ai fu g.êm g.iau g.ui z.ï› *chonglu* 崇祿 *dafu* 大夫 *jianjiao* 檢校 *guozi* 國子 *jijiu* 祭酒: the titles of Yelü Gu: ‘memorial forwarding grand master for exaulted happiness with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting chancellor of the national university of the imperial academy of the right administrative division, keeper of the *Daily Agenda of the Emperor*, director of the Hanlin academy, commandant of military cavalry of the imperial institute of the left division’. The expression [Kitan] ‹us.gi hur.ú.un ui KNOW.i› means ‘official in charge of writing matters’. The *Liaoshi* tells us that Yelü Gu was director of the Hanlin academy; this must be the Kitan equivalent. [Kitan] ‹261.zů DAY.i ui› ‘imperial day GEN matters’ = *Daily Agenda of the Emperor* 起居注; [Kitan] ‹us.gi hur.ú.un ui› person in charge of written matters’ [Kitan] ‹w.ú g.î ui.i› *wujiwei* 武騎尉 ‘commandant of military cavalry’ [Kitan] ‹pú.ú ku› ‘official 臣 *chen*’ [Kitan] ‹ei.ra.ú.ud g.ú.uh› Yelü Gu 耶律固.

[60] Line 3: [Kitan] ‹k.em› ‘edict’; [Kitan] ‹sỏ.or› ‘receive, hear’ PAST; [Kitan] ‹COMPOSE.a.ar› Translation: ‘Composed by imperial edict’.

[61] Line 4: [Kitan] ‹GREAT› [Kitan] ‹t.iủ.rẻn› ‘大康 Da Kang (reign period)’; [Kitan] ‹yủ.ur› ‘initial, first’ [Kitan] ‹ai› ‘year’ [Kitan] ‹ai:en› ‘year’ GEN [Kitan] ‹se.le.bo› ‘order of years in the hexagenary cycle’ [Kitan] ‹s.iau.qú› ‘blue’ [Kitan] ‹tau.lí.a› ‘hare, rabbit’ [Kitan] TEN [Kitan] ONE [Kitan] MONTH [Kitan] YELLOW [Kitan] ‹êm.a› ‘goat’ [Kitan] ‹ho.le.bun› ‘first [period of the month’ [Kitan] THREE [Kitan] DAY [Kitan] WHITE [Kitan] ‹te.qo.a› ‘cock, chicken’. Translation: ‘On the day of the white cock of the third day of the first period of the month of the yellow goat, the eleventh month of the year of the blue hare of the first year of the Dakang period.’

[Khitan script]
UPPER/PLUR se.hu.nai ta.i HEAVEN t.ui.u.úr MOUNTAIN TOMB.de ś.úr te.bu.al.iń

[Khitan script]
HEAVEN ar.u.o.ho yů.úr ai SIX MONTH TWENTY THREE DAY ETERNAL qudug

[Khitan script]
hu.o.gỏ qa.bu.cẻn[62]

[6] [Khitan script]
na.as.ha.a.ar doro k.ii.û.ji o.úr.û.er se.le.bo yỏ.ún:de au.ui.en ô.ri.ó.ul.hu

[Khitan script]
doro p.od.ei.en 006 ńi.ar.ha.al.hu ONE.se.gi s.ar.a.ar tů.e 218.ul.hu

[Khitan script]
ONE.se.gi t.as.ha.am MOUNTAIN TOMB.u.035 bo.qo.i bo.qo m.in[63]

[7] [Khitan script]
se.bu.o.ho qa ku.û:de ei.au.ul.ha.ai[64]

[8] [Khitan script]
hu.mú.ii.én k.em.er se.bu.ei x.ui.ri.ge.ei s.u.ul.o ui kẻ.er 298.do.er å

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[62] Line 5: [Khitan script] ‹s.y.iên i.i› ‘Xuanyi’; [Khitan script] ‹neu.e mó› ‘earth mother’; [Khitan script] ‹n.ad.bu.d.i› *‘nabo’* PLUR; [Khitan script] ‹l.iu.rẻn.er› ‘die’ (honorific) PAST; [Khitan script] ‹ta.i› ‘eternal’; [Khitan script] ‹HEAVEN›; [Khitan script] ‘MOUNTAIN-TOMB’ LOC [Khitan script] ‹HEAVEN ar.ó.o.ho› Qiantong 乾統 reign period; [Khitan script] ‹yů.ur› ‘initial, first’; [Khitan script] ‹ai› ‘year’; [Khitan script] ‹SIX› [Khitan script] ‹MONTH› [Khitan script] ‹TWENTY› [Khitan script] THREE [Khitan script] DAY [Khitan script] ‹ETERNAL qudug hu.o.gỏ qa.bu.cẻ› ‘eternal happiness throne’. Translation: ‘The earth mother (empress) Xuanyi died in the crow (?) *nabo*… in the eternal heaven mountain, on the twenty third day of the sixth month of the first year of the Qiantong period, in the Yongfu Tomb [the joint tomb of Daozong and Xuanyi]…’

[63] Line 6: [Khitan script] ‹na.as.ha.a.ar› ‘cause-to-be-at-rest PAST’; [Khitan script] ‹doro› ‘ritual ~ ceremony’; [Khitan script] ‹k.ii.û.ji› ‘it-is-called’; [Khitan script] ‹se.le.bo› ‘order, in succession’; [Khitan script] ‹doro› ‘ritual ~ ceremony’; [Khitan script] ‘mountain, mountain tomb’; [Khitan script] ‹ONE.se.gi› [Khitan script] ‹bo.qo.i bo.qo› ‘grandson’; [Khitan script] ‹m.in› (perhaps) ‘our, my’. Translation: ‘She was laid to rest with the appropriate rituals … ritual, mountain tomb … [her] grandson, our…’

[64] Line 7: [Khitan script] ‹se.bu.o.ho› ‘succeeding, following, next in succession’ [Khitan script] ‹qa› ‘khan’ [Khitan script] ‹ku.û:de› ‘men. PLUR LOC. Translation: ‘The succeeding khan, in the presence of the people … ’

圡平几有 ○ 戈幺朱 令叉几平杏平几 列乃火 ㄨ火 公金关 穴矢 叉关 孙平
eu.ul.g.en ś.iá.ah s.ún.gi.le.ge.le.gi hu.am.ui x.ui n.em.er nai:de ún.i ja.ai[65]

[9] 火夷 令丙刃 去几夊犭 业及子去平 令刃幻夊 伓交 业芬 令金丙 平
iú.lǐ t.iu.rẻn RECORD.g.u.ji p.o.ju.ha.ai te.rẻn.bú.u ló.úr po.ge t.em.ei ul

公平化当 叉化友 及子去平 月全 令勺
n.ai.ri.en m.ri.tz o.ju.ha.ai TEXT.ú te.gu[66]

|[10] 令丙刃 坐丙芬 关 穴夯 ㄨ圡平叉 床伏 尺 丈
t.iu.rẻn REGION.ei.e HEAVEN neu.e x.eu.ul.ún ETERNAL.iń SUN MOON

去 示有 公平木当 丙关 几交 公东幻 小井犭 平叉 木圡火 九交
qa qatun:en n.ai.c.én mó.er g.úr n.ad.bú siỏ.ó.ji ai.ún c.eu.un yủ.úr

今卡只平几 令平将矢 令关 几只平平杏与 木关秃有 丙关 去买有 丙余火
pu.kå.û.ul.gi se.le.bo:de s.i ku.û.ul.le.ge:én c.i.is.en mó.er qa.an:en ei.qu.ui

全分井犭 尺
ú.dû.ó.ji DAY[67]

[11] 可关 令丕木平去为出 平将买 曲关 夊化 叔北只犭 又及 买叉 丕 ㄨ平令
kẻ.er t.êm.mů.le.ha.a.ar l.iaŋ.an go.er u.ur k.ii.û.ji m.o qid.ún TWO xe.le.se

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[65] Line 8: 叔金关 ‹k.em.er› 'edict' ACC; 令生丙 ‹se.bu.ei› 'following (in accordance with); ㄨ火化杏丙 ‹x.ui.ri.ge.ei› 'come' CAUS CONV; 火 ‹ui› 'affair, matter'; 可关 ‹kẻ.er› 'bury PAST' 穴矢 ‹nai:de› 'head, official' LOC. Translation: 'issued an edict to the officials that that she be buried… the officials …'

[66] Line 9: 月全 令勺 ‹TEXT.ú te.gu› 'the text says'

[67] Line 10: 令丙刃 ‹t.iu.rẻn› 'virtue'; 坐丙芬 ‹REGION.ei.e› cf. 坐为 'region'; 关 ‹HEAVEN›; 穴夯 ‹neu.e› 'earth'; or 床伏'eternal' (possibly 床 'mountain, tomb, mountain tomb); 尺 ‹SUN› 丈 ‹MOON›; 去 ‹qa› *'khan'*; 示有 ‹qatun:en› *'khatun'* GEN; 公平木当 ‹n.ai.c.én› 'harmony' 丙关 ‹mó.er› 'mother' ACC? 几交 ‹g.úr› 'state' 公东幻 ‹n.ad.bú› (~ ‹bud›) '*nabo*'; 小井犭 ‹siỏ.ú.ji› 'tribe(s)' (?) 平叉 ‹ai.ún› 'father' (or 'year') 木圡火 ‹c.eu.un› 'district' *(zhou)* GEN; 九交 ‹yủ.ur› 'initial, first'; 今卡只平几 pu.kå.ü.ul.gi (cf. 今卡 ‹pu.kå-› 'official title: prefect, magistrate' PASS/CAUS 令平将矢 ‹se.le.bo:de› 'order' LOC 几只平平杏与 ‹ku.ü.ul.le.ge:én (几只 ‹ku.ü- 'man, person, people; CAUS > 'to cause to be a man = to educate, to bring up' PAST; 木关秃有 ‹c.i.is.en› 'blood relation' GEN 丙关 ‹mó.er› 'mother, female' 去买有 ‹qa.an:en› 'khan' GEN 全分井犭 ‹ú.dû.ó.ji› 尺 ‹DAY›. Translation: 'The virtuous (?) regions, heaven and earth … mountain, sun and moon (day and month?) the *khan* and the *khatun* were in harmony, [she] as mother to the nation, the *nabos* and the tribes, [he] as father to the regions. She educated her relatives and the other women of the khan, in peace … she was buried (?)…'

北冗炎 乇 令夾 飞叉关朩 丙尘 业丕 夯 业才头 由叉 目 令州仌夾夯朩 圣
ii.û.er ONE t.oi śi.m.i:en mó:t p.on ên áŋ.ia.an yỏ.ún mủh se.zỏ.ô.oi.e.ci yỉ

玍尘伏 刘尘 飞幺朱 芀化杏丙 才条[㮵]炎 为平
ji:d.iń bú.d ś.iá.ah cu.ur.ge.ei qudug.er a.ai[68]

[12] 达 朱尘 平朩 亡子 ○ 玍 伏乏玍尘 丙公 仐为平 几冗矢 飞村伏
dả qatun.d ai:en 042.ju EIGHT♂ mu.u.ji:d mó.n s.a:ai ku.û.de śi.mỉ.iń[69]

[13] 伏乏玍 介 仐九 令公为冬 业夯力 夾火当 ○ 可夭 乑为穴关 令丙刃
mu.u.ji heu s.yủ te.n.a.as p.ên.qo au.ui.en kẻ.is REGION.a.nai.i t.iu.rẻn

圡夾杏丙 ○ 叐化伏 夾仌伏令 丙炎 冗火当 朩肖[岑?] 飞亐仐 乂允杏丙 伇叉
eu.úr.ge.ei u.ur.iń xo.ô.ńi:t mó.er dau.ui.én ci.299 ś.al.se xe.zủ.ge.ei 232.ún

由叉 北九 冬由廾火 冗反内
yỏ.ún us.gi as.yỏ.ó.ui dau.o.ón[70]

[14]飞平九仐 叉卡关 伏屮九朩 业夯火杏丙 飞本丙当 九夾尘 公平朩与炎
ś.ul.g.s mo.kả.i mu.le.g:en p.e.ud.ge.ei ś.055.ei.én yủ.úr.cẻn n.ai.c.én:er

丙夾反内 ○ 乇 令丙友[刃?] 将业列平 亐为出 无 公平尘屮列东 仐叉九当
eu.au.o.ón FOUR t.iu.dz(rẻn?) b.áŋ.hu.ai al.a.án FIVE n.ai.d.le.hu.ad s.ún.g.en

朩圡 ○ 飞幺朱 冈为出 叉九 叉九 为亐 乂火化杏当 丸 丸
c.eu ś.iá.ah COMPOSE.a.án mo.gi mo.gi a.al x.ui.ri.ge.en mú mú[71]

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[68] Line 11: 可炎 ‹kẻ.er› 'buried' PAST; 曲炎 ‹go.er› 'tents'; 叐化 ‹u.ur› 'divisions, administrations' 叔北冗玍 ‹k.ii.û.ji› 'it is called'; 叉反 ‹m.o› 'great'; 头叉 ‹qid.ún› 'Kitan'; 圣 ‹TWO›' 乂屮仐 ‹xe.le.se› 'areas, districts, sections'; 乇 ‹ONE›; 飞叉关朩 ‹śi.m.i:en› 'Shenmi (clan name)' GEN; 丙尘 ‹mó:t› 'female' PLUR; 刘尘 ‹bú.d› 'external clans' (蕭 Xiao?); 飞幺朱 ‹ś.iá.ah› 'good (?)'; 才条 [㮵]炎 ‹qudug.er› 'good fortune'; 为平 ‹a.ai› 'be' CONV. Translation: 'In the tents and divisions, in both districts of the Great Kitan State [North and South], with the women of the Shenmi clan and the external clans (Xiao?), she had good [relations] and good fortune…'

[69] Line 12: 达 ‹dả› 'several'; 朱尘 ‹qatun.d› 'qatun, queen' PLUR; 平朩 ‹ai:en› 'father' GEN; 玍 ‹EIGHT♂›; 伏乏玍尘 ‹mu.u.ji:d› 'sacred ones' PLUR (= emperors); 丙公 ‹mó.n› 'mother' GEN; 仐为平 ‹s.a:ai› 'to be, to be present at' CONV; 几冗矢 ‹ku.û.de› 'man' PLUR LOC. Translation: 'Descendant of several queens and their fathers, of the eight sacred emperors and their wives (mothers)…'

[70] Line 13: 伏乏玍 ‹mu.u.ji› 'sacred' 介 ‹heu› 'empress' 乑为穴关 ‹REGION.a.nai.i› 'regions' (?) 丙炎 ‹mó.er› 'women' 北九 ‹us.gi› 'writing'. Translation: 'The sacred empress … taught writing to the women of the regions (?)'

[15] 丮ち圭为出 丞丙ホ伏 朩左ホ 亥才丙[丙?] ○ 令ホ将 令生丙当 今卡尺玐 非
ja.al.ha.a.án REGION.ei.l.iń ci.ra.l dz.ia.iů se.le.bo te.bu.ei.én pu.kå.û.ji po
○ 令ホホ圭丰为出 亦廾火当 亦夂 夂亦ホ杰丙 业及闲ホ伏 丙ち圭ち 公及 ○ 仍夂cf
s.on.le.ha.ai a.án úr.ó.ui.én úr.u u.úr.le.ge.ei p.o.gỏ.l.iń ei.al.ha.al n.o tá.u:en

令金丙当 公火非 九丙太尼
t.em.ei.én n.iú.fēi g.iu.uŋ:dú[72]

[16] 朩左ホ矢 为出 山 曲令 ○ 令丙刃 丙火 令ホ由 令ホ由 ○ 太卡 承才
ci.ra.l:de a.án GOLD go:t t.iů.rẻn mó.ui te.le.yỏ te.le.yỏ uŋ.kå 106.ia

业令 业令 ○ 夂火 与公将伏 又圭冬 叉将尘关 可村 令公北 屮叉 屮叉 雨北
po.te po.te u.un doro.d.bo.ń mo.ha.as ún.bo.cẻn.er kẻ:en te.d.ii bun.ún bun.ún sỏ.ho[73]

[17] 雨仝ホ圭为出 上九 令币圭丰 又 兮夫 叉化叉 叉化叉 业尺亦 ○
sỏ.or.le.ha.a.án 284.zů t.od.ha.ai GREAT YOUNG.qú śi.ri.ún śi.ri.ún p.û.úr

夷夂平叉 九亦 夷夂平将伏 玐村 仍圭ホ村 九杰ホ杰叉 朩丰
lỉ.u.ul.ún yů.úr lỉ.ú.ul.bo.ń ji:en ta.ha.ad:en zů.ge.le.ge.ún c.ai

九杰ホ杰当 公金
zů.ge.le.ge.en n.em[74]

[18] 仐亦乆夂火 丸火ホ圭为出 仐火 刋业将 ○ 刋平乆夂火 几尺平将伏 令仕乆
s.úr.bú.u.un au.ui.le.ha.a.án ú.un hu.áŋ.bo hu.ul.bú.u.un ku.û.ul.bo.ń te.mu.bú

又金 ○ 夹北 丮秃廾及内 来 夷夂平将朩 ○ 可关 伏买丙当 邪 又雨
m.em xo.ho kåi.is.u.o.ón NINE♂ lỉ.u.ul.bo.ci kẻ.er ńi.an.ei.én jau m.in

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71 Line 14: 乇 FOUR 令丙亥[=刃] t.iu.[rẻn] ‘virtues’; 无 ‹FIVE› 公丰公ホ刋ホ ‹n.ai.d.le.hu.ad› ‘harmony’ PLUR; 叉幺尓 ‹ś.iá.ah› ‘goodness’. Translation: ‘… the four virtues and the five harmonies… goodness…’ . The alliteration 又九 又九 ‹mo.gi› ‹mo.gi› and 丸 丸 ‹mú› ‹mú› is reminiscent of lines from the *Book of Odes,* from which this might be a quotation.

72 Line 15: 令ホ将 ‹se.le.bo› ‘order’; 非 ‹po› ‘time’; 令金丙当 ‹t.em.ei.én› ‘granted a title’; 九丙太尼 ‹g.iu.uŋ:dú› ‘palace’ LOC. Translation: ‘She was given honorary titles in the palace’ (?)

73 Line 16: 山 ‹GOLD›; 曲令 ‹go:t› ‘tents’ 令丙[=丙?]刃 ‹t.iu.rẻn› ‘virtue’ Translation: ‘Golden tents…’

74 Line 17: 上九 ‹284.zů› ‘pertaining to emperor, imperial’; 又 ‹GREAT› 兮夫 ‹YOUNG.qú› ‘young’

ci.mu.bun:en 212.ha.al.hu.nai te.mu.d.ii b.iů.ra RECORD.ge:en[75]

[19] zȯ.le.ha.ai giủ x.in 307.ei s.eu.ur.ún doro hó.le.bo.ń t.as.bo.d mó.n mó.er

ú.dû.le.ha.a.án GREAT śi.mi̇.u.ji iu hu.as.al ńi.ei.én sȯ.ju.le.u.ji då ei.ie.ra.u

ś.ia p.a.am sh:en 078.am.zȯ mó.ge mú śi.mi̇.e ś.iá.ah[76]

[20] ar.ó.o.ón m.a heu.ún s.yủ s.úr.bú.u ia.ra ku.û.ul.ge kẻ.ui jau.ul.ha.a.án[77]

[21] neu.e mó x.iń ii.û.ui ś.ul.én tủ.ii iu.mu.ie te.e.bo yô.cẻn.én då:de

dau.ul.ha.a.án du.uh g.u s.ui:de u.úr.le.ge.ei ja.ri.hu.as ci.dz.ge.ún a.al rí.én

ja.aŋ s.un ta.aŋ.iú te.bu.ei.i śi.kå.le.ha.a.án te.bu.al.ha.a.án n.ai.ri.én

COMPOSE.a.án[78]

[22] neu.e mó SEVEN li̇.u.ud.le.gi ui:de t.as.ha.am ci.mu.én doro:en mó.t.i 336

te.dź.a.án mó.d:er te.bu.o.ón YOUNG.qú.er te.xi̇.is[79]

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[75] Line 18: ‹ku.ü.ul.bo.ń› 'adulthood (?) education (?)' ‹m.em› 'silver'; ‹NINE♂› ‹kẻ.er› 'bury' PAST; ‹jau› 'hundred'.

[76] Line 19: ‹doro› 'ritual ~ ceremony ~ seal'; hó.le.bo.ń 'imperial clan'; ‹mo.n›, ‹mó.er› (= mother, female, wife); ‹ú.dû.le.ha.a.án› 'peace' (?) ‹GREAT›; ‹hu.as.al› 'misfortune, tragedy'; då 'several'; ‹ś.iá.ah› 'good'.

[77] Line 20: ‹heu.un› 'empress' GEN; ‹kẻ.er› 'bury' PAST; ‹ku.ü.ul.ge› = 'man, person' = CAUS/PASS 'to educate' (?)'

[78] Line 21: ‹neu.e› ‹mó› 'earth mother' ‹då:de› 'several' ‹g.ú› 'jade' (?) ‹ja.aŋ s.un ta.aŋ› Zhang Suntang (?) ‹COMPOSE.a.án› 'compose' PAST

[23] 伏及犸矢 凿令屮乂犸 丙及 公庆 才不 扎丙夯未 才条[㮴] 仐分廾平列兲
mu.u.ji:de 343.se.le.xe.ji ei.u n.063 ia.ra ho.ei.ge.ci qudug ú.dû.u.ul.hu.án

犸 叔未 未村将夯 炏 出为出 ○ 叐ち火屮九 乂九夲当 令公为灮 化岙屮 久
giů ke.ci c.en.bo.e 291 043.a.án ś.eu.ud.le.gi xe.zů.ge.én te.n.a.iú ur.d.bun uh

为ち列 叐交 亦屮将叐 仐村村 夫屮列兲 亜仐 文屮圭为出 乂化矢 可叐
a.al.hu ś.úr ün.le.b.ún s.en:en rí.le.hu.án hur.ú 326.le.ha.a.án xe.ri:de kẻ.ún[80]

[24] 凿将 乂丙刃ち 士伏 令久北 乂火化将伏 仍化屮岙丙 乑犸 九村叐夯
343.bo xe.deu.rẻn.én eu.iń t.uh.ii x.ui.ei.b.iń rẻŋ.ri.le.ge.ei jau.ji g.en.ún.e

列丈为 乂灮乃叐 令夲当 非朱 将夂列兲 ち 列行扎岙 扎为兲
hu.sảr.a x.iû.am.ûn te.ge.én po.do b.as.hu.án doro hu.mú.ho.er ho.a.an

丙夾犸 又 九村叐 屮乑及 叔北冈犸 ○ 叐村 业币为出 关 乂仐矢
ei.au.ji GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji ś.en p.od.a.án HEAVEN xe.se:de[81]

[25] 仐廾平叐 丙交将伏 乂仐夲屮 小 乂ち平叐 乑ち伏 丈 乂化仐 仐夾交仐
s.ó.ul.ún deu.úr.b.iń xe.se.ge.l siỏ x.eu.ul.ún bải.al.iń sảr x.ur.se s.au.úr.se

仐本尘当 穴公 由 介交 叐ち卡 兲矢 仃庆丙灮 公乃交
s.ar.cẻn.én neu.n yô heu.úr ś.eu.kả DAY:de lú.063.ei.iú n.am.úr

列业仍 仐夯矢 车 乇 非炏 丸矢屮九 叉未夯 令交乆及犸 乇 达
hu.áŋ.rẻŋ s.oi:de ra FOUR po.dź mú.de.le.gi mo.ci.ge t.úr.bú.u.ji 044 dả

未关秃
c.i.is[82]

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[79] Line 22: 穴夯 ‹neu.e› 'earth'; 丙 ‹mó› 'mother'; 尸 'seven'; 火矢 ‹ui:de› 'matter' LOC; ち村 ‹doro:en› 'ritual' GEN; 丙令关 ‹mó.t.i› female PLUR GEN?; 丙岙岙 ‹mó.d:er› 'female/wife' PLUR ACC; 子夫岙 ‹YOUNG.qú.er› 'young'.

[80] Line 23: 伏及犸矢 ‹mu.u.ji:de› 'sacred [one = emperor]' LOC; 才条[㮴] ‹qudug› 'good fortune'; 仐分廾平列兲 ‹ú.dû.u.ul.hu.án› 'peace' SUFF; 仐村村 ‹s.en:en› 'long life; also name Yixin' GEN; 亜仐 ‹hur.ú› 'person in charge of'; 可叐 ‹kẻ.ún› 'bury' PAST.

[81] Line 24: 凿将 ‹343.bo› 'wine'? (?); 乂火化将伏 ‹x.ui.ri.bo.ń› 'come' SUFF; 乑犸 ‹jau.ji› 'hundred' (?); 九村叐夯 ‹g.en.ún.e› 'sadness'; 非朱 'time' LOC 将夂列兲 ‹b.as.hu.án› 'again' (?); ち ‹doro› 'ceremony'; 又 ‹GREAT›; 九村叐 ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness'; 叔北冈犸 ‹k.ii.û.ji› 'it is called'; 业币为出 ‹p.od.a.án› 'be' SUFF; 关 ‹HEAVEN›.

[82] Line 25: 丙交将伏 ‹deu.úr.bo.ń› 'together'(?) 乂仐夲屮 ‹xe.se.ge.le› 'parts' 小 ‹siỏ› 'tribes ~ south' 由 ‹yô› 'black?' 介交 ‹heu.úr› 'spring' 叐ち卡 ‹ś.eu.kả› 'dew' (?); 兲矢 'day' LOC 公乃交

[26]
n.ai.le.hu l.em.ii 336 bo.ra GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji s.yů s.yů yô.u

lu ho.ci ○ s.yů.de.û.én ś.al.se ei.u s.iaŋ.an xo.gỏ i.is xe.dú.ún:én hu.ul l.en hoŋ

ju sỏ.mú sỏ.mú eu.ul pu.kả.û.er ś.an.ci[83]

[27]
na.as.le.hu bả p.u yỏ.ún dau.iń oi.ri.ó.ul.hu dau ún.e śi.mỉ.iń doro kú

GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji ○ GOLD lú.063 t.í.ra a.o.iń 287.al ○ s.120.dû

uŋ.kả ś.ên ○ m.em 204.dả.u.o.ho c.ie.253.en[84]

[28] ○
x.eu.ul.ún COMPOSE.ai na.as.bo.ń g.u.un ên dau.ui a.ai.ó.iń ün.én iá.ah ś.kả.ó.o.ón

○
xa.iảŋ ńi.an.bu.as iên m.a.a.sảr.én te.xỉ.is c.eu po.ńi.ún mu.én ś.al.se ci KNOW

GREAT g.en.ún l.iảŋ.u k.ii.û.ji ů.b ů.bo[85]

[29] [=]
neu.e as.ar g.e.cẻn g.e.cẻn HEAVEN ho ho.ci m.in.is g.u [te.qo.a] giů

‹n.am.úr› 'autumn'; ‹FOUR›; ‹po.dź› 'seasons'; ‹dả› 'several'; ‹c.i.is› 'blood relations'. ‹yô.u lu› 'black dragon'.

[83] Line 26: ‹GREAT›; ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness'; ‹k.ii.ü.ji› 'it is called'; ‹yô.u› 'black' ‹lu› 'dragon'. ‹pu.kả.û.er› 'official, prefect' (?)

[84] Line 27: ‹bả› '*li*, Chinese mile' (?); ‹p.ú› 'servant' ‹doro› 'ritual ~ ceremony; ‹kú› 'man, person' ‹GREAT›; ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness' ‹k.ii.ü.ji› 'it is called' ‹GOLD› ‹ś.ên› 'new' ‹m.em› 'silver'

[85] Line 28: ‹COMPOSE.ai› 'compose' CONV ‹g.ú.un› 'jade' ‹KNOW› 'administrator' (?); ‹GREAT›; ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness' ‹k.ii.ü.ji› 'it is called'.

丐关令 山 列北 火令杰中 丙伏文 令伏佥北 非 ○ 丹交 朩当 仐叉九及犸
doro.i te GOLD♂ hu.ho xe.se.ge.l iu.mu.ie te.mu.d.ii po 312.úr c.en s.ún.g.o.ji

丐 才东 叉夯 圣为火 圭九当
doro ia.ra ún.e car.a.iú RECORD.g.én[86]

[30] 北[犹]九 朩公 癸 化交 及 公乃交 丙北令 丙北令 尺平廾犸 又北 又
us.gi ci.n ån ri.úr tumen n.am.úr ei.ho.se ei.ho.se dau.ul.u.ji mo.ho GREAT

九由叉 中丞及 叔北尺犸
g.en.ún l.iåŋ.u k.ii.û.ji[87]

6.9 Translation of Chinese text of the Eulogy for Empress Xuanyi[88]

Composed by the official Zhang Lin, deputy military affairs commissioner, minister of the court of imperial ceremonies, deputy director of the state finance commission, state historiographer, senior military protector, dynasty founding duke, land grant noble granted two thousand households, noble granted two hundred households.

It was in the first year of the Dakang period, the order of the year was *yimou*. It was the eleventh month, *siwei*, the third day of the new month, *xinyou*.

The late Empress Yide died at Changqing river. She was buried with her ancestors at Zuling. In the first year of the Qiantong period, the year was *xinsi,* the sixth month, *gengyin,* the new moon, on the twenty third day, *renzi,* she was reburied in the Yongfu tomb with the appropriate rituals.

Along the route to the tomb, the wind was mournful, and clouds gathered in the open spaces around the city. The moon was in *wei*, the time was approaching *gui*. In accordance with the indications of the tortoise ink, an auspicious time was chosen.

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86 Line 29: 穴夯 ‹neu.e› 'earth'; 冬本 ‹as.ar› 'quietness, peace'; 关 ‹HEAVEN›; 九及 ‹g.u› 'jade'; 戈矢为 [=令力为] ‹te.qo.a› 'cock'; 丐关 ‹doro.i› seal ~ ritual GEN?; 令 ‹te› PLUR (?) 山 ‹GOLD♂› 'gold' (masculine); 列北 ‹hu.ho› 'bird ~ crow'; 非 ‹po› 'time'; 火令杰中 xe.se.ge.le 'region' (?); 丐 ‹doro› 'ceremony ~ ritual' 圣为火 ‹car.a.iú› 'Cara' (personal name) DAT/LOC? (?); 圭九当 ‹RECORD.g.én› 'record, make a record, to carve an inscription on a stone' PAST 'Chara recorded this'.

87 Line 30: 北[犹]九 ‹us.gi› 'writing'; 朩公 ‹ci.n› 'official' (臣 *chen*); 及 ‹TEN THOUSAND› 'ten thousand'; 公乃交 ‹n.am.úr› 'autumn'; 又 ‹GREAT› 九由叉 ‹g.en.ún› 'sadness'; 叔北尺犸 ‹k.ii.û.ji› 'it is called'.

88 Translated from the Chinese stele. Text available in *Research*, pp. 546-551. Also in Chinggeltei 2002:124-126.

The imperial mausoleum was opened, the six vestments were folded, the curtains and tents were put away, the three offerings were completed, and the sacrificial vessels were removed. The scene was so sad; the imperial insignia were fluttering in the air, the banners blown about by the wind.

The chariot of the immortals departed, never to return. On this day, the engraved carriage bearing the coffin also departed along the same tracks. The dew on the pine and the catalpa was like limitless tears. The sounds of the bamboo pan-pipes and the reed leaf whistles pervaded the emptiness.
Yanxi, her filial grandson, having inherited the position of emperor, with sadness thought of restoring her position. His strong attachment for her, which he could not forget, made his wound even more painful. He gazed upwards, longing for the request in his heart. His respected father had left behind an edict, that they should be buried together.

The jade tablet with her posthumous name lit up the burial palace. Her pearl robes sparkled in the hall of darkness. The daytime had passed, the hour had moved on, the pure hanging lamps had frozen, the night had no sun. Her voice, her appearance, had disappeared forever. The night is so long. Because of the emperor's unprecedented favour, she will not be forgotten with the passing of time. According to the orders of the emperor, we praise her lasting fragrance. It is difficult to record all the events of her life, and her goodness cannot extolled by just a few examples.
Rhymed text:
In the past, only the sages were the equal of kindness and virtue.
From outside the corridors of the palace, she came from an external family.
After auspicious matching of stone characters, she received the appointment of Heaven.
Jade seals, emperor's gifts, ceremonial robes added to her ornament.
She helped the education of society; teaching the palace servants.
She never spread slander. Kind, beautiful, pure, humane, her nature was not ostentatious.
Deep, principled, demure and mature early in life, she was like the grasshopper in her freedom from jealousy, and kind to others like the trees in the south.
So rich she lived in rooms of gold, she still maintained a natural simplicity.
Respected by the Son of Heaven, she served all those around her.
Her piety unified the minds of the people; they rejoiced to be nourished as her children.
Making an example of herself to all under Heaven, they loved her as their exemplary mother.
She was noble but not arrogant, respectful and not conceited.

She was assiduous in the teaching of women, and an example for all women's activities.
In the rivers and islands, they praised her name.
They wrote of the lives of the women who lived in the pepper scented chambers and rode in vermillion carriages.
Her internal beauty, like the fragrance of orchids, manifested itself externally.
Like a flash of lightning, as her brilliant light approached, it added brightness to the sun.
Like the sky at sunset, her softness matched the emperor's might.
Comparable to the Queen of Zhou in humaneness, to the Queen of Yin in wisdom.
Her robes, her head ornaments were in accordance with the regulations.
The wind and stringed instruments, the silk and bamboo, conformed to elegant and correct standards. Her writings were natural, not artificially learned.
She was born with an understanding of the Law of Buddha.
Quiet and refined as a water plant, she moved with grace.
Her deportment was inherited from her ancestors, and she naturally followed the rules of decorum.
She should have expected a long life. But suddenly she returned to the fragrance of the immortals. The sacred mother loved the crown prince so much. Like a dragon having to leave behind a foal, like a phoenix turning her head, worried about her chicks.
So sad, there are no words to express it. The way of the spirits is hard to fathom.
The sky is grey, the cries heart-rending.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.
The great earth is broken, the moon carriage has left the tracks.
The tomb is full of fog and darkness. The mountains bereft, the flowing springs exhausted.
The ten thousand things cry out, the hundred souls express their misery.
Alas, alas, how sad it is.
The silver sea is cold. The imperial robes reflect in the darkness. The tinkling of her belt ornaments is no longer to be heard. Where is the gauze of the cloud chariots? Although her voice cannot be heard in the six palaces, it can be heard in the ear. Although her image cannot be seen among the nine tribes, it can be seen in the heart. Her time has gone, and she is separated far from the world. Her life will never happen again. The city is empty forever.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.

The leaves have fallen from the tree. The trees of autumn, the grass of spring: these were places she used to love. In the places where she would hold banquets, her spirit still lingers. Her kind face is still in front of us.
Alas, alas. How sad it is.
We recall how the emperor's favour was destroyed by a treacherous official. The calumnies of the green flies will be forgotten. The purity of white jade shines so precious. Like the sound of metal and stone, although silenced, it can be struck again. Like the sound of a bell, although muffled, it can become like new. Silk and gauze spreads like fragrant dust. After a thousand years, we will see her spirit and beauty in the ancestral palaces, and hear her voice again.
Alas, alas, how sad it is.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIAO CHINESE

> The founding of the Song Dynasty in 960 ended a long period of disunion in China. The national capital, Dongjing, was established at Kaifengfu in the Central Plains. This area remained the political and cultural center of the dynasty for 166 years. The conventional view today is that the standard language of the period was a Central Plains-based lingua franca or koine, probably centered in the Kaifeng-Luoyang area… There is, however, one further point with requires notice here. North of the Song lay the Khitan empire (907-1119) […] In 937, before the founding of Song, the short-lived Jìn dynasty had ceded to the Khitans an area known as the Sixteen Prefectures, which correspond roughly to the northern part of modern Hebei Province. Despite a number of efforts, the Song were never able to retake this area, and it remained under Khitan control for approximately 200 years. The inhabitants of this territory were almost all Chinese […] At the town of Youzhou they built a new administrative centre, called Nanjing, the southernmost of the five capitals of their state, to govern their new Chinese subjects. From this place, after many changes and vicissitudes, the modern city of Peking would eventually evolve. Now it is of some interest here that the large Chinese population of this region, which the Liao called the Southern Capital Circuit, was cut off from the Central Plains dialect area to the south for two centuries. Although we have no proof for it, we may speculate that in this linguistic rupture lie at least some of the beginnings of the distinctive type of north Chinese dialect which would later come to be associated with the Peking area and points to the northeast. – W, South Coblin 2007:15-16 (slightly modified).

7.1 The Chinese language beyond Hebei

We know very little of the type of Chinese spoken far north of Hebei during the Liao dynasty, or what type of Chinese was the basis of the many Chinese loanwords transcribed in the Kitan inscriptions. It *could* have been similar to the Chinese of the Tang capital, or its variants in the northwest of China during the late Tang and the post-Tang period. It *could* have been similar to the contemporary Song "prevalent speech of the central provinces". It *could* have been similar to the geographically closer dialects of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* or the *Menggu ziyun*. On *a priori* grounds, we have little evidence one way or the other. What we can do, however, is to look at the varieties of Chinese in the sources listed above, and some others of about the same time,

to set up a number of characteristics one might expect a dialect of Chinese at that time and place to have. After this is has been done, we can compare these possible characteristics with the evidence of the Kitan script.

7.2 Northeastern China during the Late Tang

The Tang empire did not extend beyond the Great Wall in the east, and the southern bank of the Yellow River in the west. What sort of Chinese, if any, may have been spoken north of the Great Wall at that time is unknown. South of the Great Wall, and north of the Yellow River, lay the area broadly known as Hebei. Although part of the Tang empire, at least until the An Lushan rebellion, it was a remote and somewhat uncouth place, far from the cultural centres of the Tang. Even as early as 643, in the view of Chen Yinque, "north-eastern China, in particular Hebei province, was estranged from the Tang ruling house" (Wechsler 1979:200-201). He argued that "an influx of non-Chinese into Hebei from early in the eighth century had initiated a process by which, in the course of time, "barbarized society" in the northeast… The barbarian factor as seen by Chen Yinque, therefore, involves not merely An Lushan and the men under his command, but the population of a whole region". An alternative view proposed by Gu Jiguang and adapted by Pulleyblank "explain[s] the rebellion in the context of the long-standing alienation of Hebei (in the north-east) from the Tang court (in the north-west)". (Peterson 1979:471). Both views suggest a considerable degree of difference between Hebei and the rest of Tang China. With the disintegration of Tang power after the rebellion, the military commanders in the north-east asserted their independence, so that by 785 Youzhou, the province in the area of present day Beijing, was regarded as an autonomous province. Various attempts over the next few decades to reassert power in the northeast failed, and after 822 the Tang court made no further attempt to recover control in these areas. Writing in 831, the minister Niu Sengru wrote "since the Rebellion of An Lushan, Fanyang [i.e. Youzhou] has not been part of the empire." (Peterson 1979:548).

7.3 Possible altaic influence on Chinese

What all this means in linguistic terms is speculation. Norman 1982:243 noted "Northern China was controlled by dynasties of northern nomadic origin for a total of more than 800 years between the fourth and twentieth centuries. A majority of these northern rulers were of Altaic stock, generally speakers of either Mongolian or Tungusic. During this long period of contact between Chinese and Altaic, there was naturally a good deal of mutual

linguistic influence”. Hashimoto 1980:160 suggested that “the basic typological features of the Chinese language stayed more or less intact until the end of the Tang period […] this is the time the Chinese language underwent definite Altaicization in the northern part of its territory”. According to Hashimoto 1986:95, “the way they developed this type of “pidgin Chinese” must be that these original Altaic residents accommodated into their mother tongue(s) the Chinese lexicon and morphology in their entirety, maintaining however their own syntax and perhaps most of their phonetics […].”

In terms of dialect history and dialect geography, it seems reasonable to suggest that the type of Chinese spoken in Hebei even from the early Tang was likely to be subjected to the type of creolization described above, with subsequent differentiation from the “Tang standard” of Chang’an. This process must have increased as the north-eastern provinces became politically autonomous to the point where by 831, “Youzhou was no longer part of the empire”. We can then hypothesize that the differentiation of the Chinese spoken north of the Yellow River was underway long before 937, when the Sixteen Prefectures were annexed. Northern Chinese had been developing at least semi-independently from “the dialect of the central plains” for at least 300 years before that date, and, as Coblin pointed out, for two centuries afterward. Against all this, perhaps educated Kitans did not speak the creole of the masses (if such a language existed) but something close to “standard Chinese”, which at that time meant the language of the Song capital, Kaifeng. This is a hypothesis we can check against the evidence of the Kitan script.

7.4 Middle Chinese

Middle Chinese is based on the initials and finals in the *Qieyun* 切韻*,* compiled between 581 and 601. All the evidence is that Tang Standard Chinese, roughly understood as the language spoken by the educated classes in the capital, differed from the *Qieyun* in various ways, but that it was very similar to it. Even if one argues that there were many varieties of Chinese spoken by educated people throughout the empire, it seems likely they were close to the *Qieyun,* even if they differed in some minor ways. It is common to discuss earlier stages of Chinese according to the traditional names of the initials, finals and rhyme groups and rhyme categories. However, as Coblin 2007:xii commented, Chinese historical phonology “is a curious and often vexatious discipline […] It seems clear that the field of Chinese historical phonology as it is practiced today is so peculiar and exacting that it lies essentially beyond the reach both of sinologists who have not received

specialized training in it and of the broad range of historical linguists who might wish to familiarize themselves with it […] Pre-modern Chinese phonology remains for most non-specialist readers a closed book.” It is simpler, and clearer, to list the initials and finals of Middle Chinese in transcription, without reference to the traditional terms for initials and finals. Phonetic values of the initials and finals were worked out by Karlgren and others over a period of decades, based mainly on reflexes in the modern dialects. It is now more common to employ transcriptions with digraphs instead of diacritics and special letters, and to regard the transcription as being “phonemic along phonetic lines” rather than narrowly phonetic. Recently Baxter 1992, Branner 1999 and others have suggested that a romanized form of the *Qieyun* be regarded as a *transcription* rather than a phonetic reconstruction. The transcription used here is similar to Baxter’s but it is easier to write and easier to remember, and helps to make the process of phonological change more evident.

7.5 Synoptic chart of transcription symbols for MC initials

1	見 k	溪 kh	群 g	疑 ŋ	日 ny
2	端 t	透 th	定 d	泥 n	來 l
3	幫 p	滂 ph	並 b	明 m	
4	非 f	敷 fh	奉 v	微 mv	
5	精 c	清 ch	從 j	心 s	邪 z
6	知 tr	徹 thr	澄 dr	娘 nr	
7	莊 tsr	初 tshr	崇 dzr	生 shr	俟 zhr
8	章 tsy	昌 tshy	船 dzy	書 sy	禪 zy
9	照 cr	穿 chr	牀 jr	審 sr	禪 zr
10	影 q	曉 x	匣 h	云 hi,以 øi	喻 y

This chart shows proposed transcription symbols for the Chinese terms used for the initials of both Early and Late Middle Chinese. Row 4, the labiodentals, emerged as a group distinct from the labial stops of line 3 in the late Tang, when piu > fu. This change did not occur in all cases; the details are complex and not relevant to the present discussion. On the other hand, the EMC initials in rows 7 and 8 merged to form a new series in LMC, line 9. In line 10, hi- and øi- merged to form y- by LMC.

7.6 Transcription of MC finals

哥 a	泰 ai	豪 au	寒 an	曷 at	譚 am	蓋 ap	鐸 ak	唐 aŋ
戈 ua	祭 iai	宵 iau	仙 ian	薛 iat	鹽 iam	葉 iap	藥 iak	陽 iaŋ
麻 ae	夬 aei	肴 aeu	刪 aen	鎋 aet	銜 aem	狎 aep	陌 aek	庚 aeŋ
佳 ea	皆 eai		山 ean	黠 eat	咸 eam	洽 eap	麥 eak	耕 eaŋ
灰 uei	咍 ei	侯 eu	痕 en	沒 et	覃 em	合 ep	德 ek	登 eŋ
之 ie	微 iei	尤 ieu	欣 ien	迄 iet	嚴 iam	業 iap	職 iek	蒸 ieŋ
支 i	脂 ii	虞 iu	真 in	質 it	侵 im	緝 ip	昔 ik	清 iŋ
		幽 iou	諄 uin	術 uit	臻 iin	櫛 iit		
	齊 eei	蕭 eeu	先 een	屑 eet	添 eem	帖 eep	錫 eek	青 eeŋ
			桓 uan	末 uat			沃 ok	冬 oŋ
	魚 io	廢 ioi	元 ion	月 iot			燭 iok	鍾 ioŋ
模 u	虞 iu	幽 iou	魂 uen	沒 uet			屋 uk	東 uŋ
			文 iun	物 iut	凡 iuom	乏 iuop	覺 aok	江 aoŋ

This chart shows the transcription symbols used for the rhymes of EMC, which were reproduced in the rhyme tables, but reorganised into rhyme groups.

7.7 The rhyme groups of LMC

果 a	止 i	曾 eng	山 an
假 ae	效 au	梗 ing	臻 en
遇 u	流 eu	江 aong	咸 am
蟹 ai	宕 ang	通 ung	深 em

These are merely tags to indicate a rhyme group: the rhyme group -*ang,* for example, includes the rhymes -*ang,* -*iang* and -*uang.* The phonetic interpretations of the arrangement of the rhymes into various rhyme groups is not certain. In the earlier period, the rhymes seem to have had different vowels; in the later period, they seem to be differentiated by different medials, or perhaps a combination of different vowels and different medials. The nasal endings incorporate the stop finals: *an* and *en* also contain rhymes in *at* and *et*, *am* and *em* contain rhymes in *ap* and *em*, rhymes in *ang* and *eng* contain rhymes in *ak* and *ek*.

7.8 Late Tang North-western Chinese

Tibetan transcriptions of the Hexi dialect of the ninth and tenth centuries have been found at Dunhuang. They were first systematically studied by Luo Changpei 1933, and by many others since. Coblin 1994 is a thorough study of these transcriptions, incorporating a wide variety of related material. In his review of the related literature, Jiang Shaoyu 2005 summarised the characteristics of late Tang north-western Chinese:

(1) there was some indication of the emergence of labiodentals
(2) some voiced initials had become voiceless.
(3) *m* and *n* were read *'b 'd* in syllables with non-nasal finals
(4) there was some simplification of the vowel system
(5) in the *ing* and *ang* rhyme groups, the final *ŋ* was not pronounced
(6) in words with voiced initials, the rising tone had become a departing tone

Jiang Shaoyu concluded that the language of Chang'an under the Tang was a variety of the Hexi dialect. Denasalization and the dropping of the final *ŋ* were restricted to the north-west, while other tendencies outlined above can be seen in texts from other parts of China. Zhou Zumo, in his study of the rhymes in the rhymed texts found in Dunhuang, distinguished 23 finals, slightly different from Luo Changpei's 23 finals based on the Tibetan transcriptions. He compared these 23 finals with the sixteen rhyme groups of the *Sisheng dengzi,* and found that, apart from the Dunhuang texts not distinguishing *aŋ* and *aoŋ, ak* and *aok*, there was structurally no difference between them. Zhou concluded that the vowel system of modern northern dialects can be directly derived from the 23 rhyme groups of the Dunhuang texts and the *Sisheng dengzi*. This is of particular relevance to the type of northern Chinese spoken during the Liao period.

7.9 The *Sisheng dengzi*

Zhou Zumo pointed out the similarity of the finals of the late Tang north-western dialects and the 四聲等子 *Sisheng dengzi.* This rhyme table is of particular interest because of its possible origin in the Chinese speaking areas of the Liao empire. According to its (undated) preface, "Recently we have re-edited the *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑑 [Hand Mirror of the Dragon Niche] and placed it in the last bound volumes of the *Tripitaka.* But considering that the dialects are not united, [varieties of] labials and [varieties of] sibilants and affricates are mixed. Some sounds which should be distinct are treated as if they were identical and some characters are

borrowed to write other characters. How can one know how to assign the initials and harmonise the tones? How can one know what is standard? So we have appended this [table] to the *Longkan shoujian.* Looking through the tables one can discern the structure, there will be no trepidation or confusion. Then one can pronounce the word accurately. We hope that all our readers will consult it." The *Longkan shoujian*, more commonly known as the *Longkan shoujing* 龍龕手鏡, is a reference work on the Buddhist classics. According to its preface, dated 997, it was compiled by a Liao monk, Xing Jun. It contains many unusual characters, with *fanqie* annotations. The *fanqie* were taken from a variety of sources and reflect late Tang Chinese, and do not directly concern us here. Shen Gua, in his *Mengqi bitan* 夢溪筆談, wrote "books were strictly controlled. If anyone imported them into the central states the law was that they were punishable by death. In the Xining period (1068-1077) a copy [of the *Sisheng dengzi*] was obtained from someone who surrendered…". Li Xinkui 1983:180 noted that the *Sisheng dengzi* refers to 206 rhymes, which must date it after the *Guangyun* of 1008. He also noticed that it does not distinguish the later *Zhongyuan yinyun* finals *ie* < *ia,* or *ï* < *i* after initial dental sibilants. In this it is similar to the rhymes in Liao poetry. Both geographically and chronologically, it falls within the Liao period.

In the *Sisheng dengzi* we still find a three way distinction between [k], [kh] and [g], and the other stops and affricates. Karlgren argued that the voiced initials in MC were aspirated, but later analyses treat them as unaspirated. On transcriptional evidence, Pulleyblank 1988 treated the initials of what he called Late Middle Chinese (the language of the Song rhyme tables) as being unvoiced but followed by voiced aspiration.

The *Sisheng dengzi* arranged the finals of MC into sixteen rhyme groups. Within the rhyme groups, finals are arranged in four grades. Other sources indicate that the "real language" of the time could not have been very different from the language implied in the initials, rhyme groups and grades of the *Sisheng dengzi.*

7.10 The *Qieyun zhizhangtu*

The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* 切韻指掌圖 is dated 1176-1203. It is similar to the *Sisheng dengzi,* but with an important difference: words with initial dental sibilants and final *i* were listed under Grade 1, not Grade 3 rhymes. This implies that the vowel was no longer [i], but a non-palatal vowel, the [ï] of Mandarin. EMC *tsy* and *tsr* had merged to *cr* by the LMC of the *Sisheng dengzi*. The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* indicates that *tr* and *cr* (and the corresponding voiced and aspirated initials) had also merged. Final *t* and *k* had merged, but final *p* remained in a category of its own. At some time

between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries back [ɑ] became [ɔ], while front *ae* > *ia*. So 歌 *ka* > *ko*, but 家 *kae* > *kia.* The earlier rhyme tables kept the rhymes in their original *Qieyun* order. The *Sisheng dengzi* and the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* reorganised the categories in ways which could only have reflected changes in the actual language. For instance, the *Yunjing* and the *Qiyinlüe* list the final *-aong* after *-ong, -ung* and *-iong*. The *Sisheng dengzi* and the *Qieyun zhizhangtu* list it after *ang* and *iang*. This indicates that *aong* had become closer to *-ang* than *-ong*. Kitan transcriptions show that MC *aong* and MC *ang* were transcribed the same: ‹aŋ›. The approximate date of the *Yunjing* is c. 1000. The *Qieyun zhizhangtu* preface is dated 1203. The *Sisheng dengzi* is dated between 1127 and 1279.

7.11 The *Huangji jingshi shu*

The *Huangji jingshi shu* is a numerological and cosmological text by Shao Yong (1011-1077). Among other things, phonological categories such as initials, finals and tones are related to various aspects of the universe. The relevant section is called *lülü shengyin* "matching the odd number pitch pipes and the even number pitch pipes, the rhymes and initials", that is, how initials and finals are combined to form syllables. Its value is precisely in its unorthodox approach: Shao Yong did not copy his information from earlier charts, he relied on the way he pronounced the characters himself. It is generally regarded as providing reliable information about the pronunciation at the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng. However, Yakhontov 1980 made a case for it representing the language of Fanyang (Beijing), on the grounds that the treatment of MC final *k*, resulting in diphthongs, is characteristic of the *Zhongyuan yinyun.* It is also characteristic of the Kitan transcriptions. Fanyang was well within the Chinese speaking part of Liao territory.

Zhou Zumo 1966 concluded that by this stage the voiced stops and affricates had become voiceless. *Level tone* words beginning with MC *b d g j jr* (which may have been aspirated in LMC: [bh], [dh] [gh]) are listed with their aspirated voiceless equivalents. *Non-level tone* words beginning with MC voiced stops and affricates had become unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates. This is the same pattern as the *Zhongyuan yinyun* and Mandarin, but differs from the more or less contemporary Xixia transcriptions. This latter pattern also occurs in modern dialects, in particular Kejia (Hakka) and Gan.

In the earlier tables, *tr thr dr* are listed below *t th d.* In Shao Yong's charts, however, they are listed under *cr chr jr.* This suggests the earlier postdentals and the affricates had already merged, as other Song materials indicate. Words like 自 *jii,* 思 *si* and 寺 *zii* are in Grade 1, suggesting the

nonpalatal [ï] after dental sibilants (but not affricates) already indicated in the *Qieyun zhizhangtu*. Characters such as 日 *nyit* 骨 *kuet* 德 *tek* 北 *pek* are listed in the same line as open syllables, but are kept separate from them. This is rather similar to the arrangement of such syllables in the *Zhongyuan yinyun.* Liao poetry also suggests the two series (open vowel and final glottal stop) were kept separate.

7.12 The *fanqie* spellings of Zhu Xi

The *Shijingzhuan* [Annotations to the *Book of Poetry*] was compiled by the philosopher Zhu Xi in 1177. The rhymes in the *Book of Poetry,* compiled about 700 BC, did not correspond to the rhymes of the *Qieyun.* It was not until the Qing that phonologists started the process of analysing the language of the *Book of Poetry* in its own terms. During the Song, if words did not rhyme, annotators would note "here pronounced such and such", and give the changed reading in *fanqie* "reversed cutting". This process was known as *xieyin* "harmonising the sounds". For example, Zhu Xi gives the following *fanqie* spellings (using MC for convenience): 諸延 *cyo-yen* for 展 *trien,* 薄救 *bak-kiu* for 報 *pau*, 丁五 *teeng-ngu* for 圖 *du*, 此里 *chie-li* for 在 *jei*, 居亦 *kio-yeek* for 局 *giok*, 許例 *xio-liet* for 褐 *hat*. The confusion between the former voiced and voiceless initials indicates that voicing was no longer phonemic and the former voiced initials *b d g z dr j* were lost to the system.

In the finals, words with initial dental sibilants and final *i* were changed to rhyme with other finals in *i*. If they had rhymed in the first place, they would not have been changed. The implication is that the vowel in this position had become [ï]. Final *t* and *k* are merged. There are no examples of final *p* merging with *t* or *k* in the annotations to the *Book of Poetry*, but elsewhere Zhu Xi rhymes 折 *cyet,* 白 *baek*, 客 *khaek,* 隔 *keak* and 蝶 *deep*. It is clear that by this stage *p t k* had coalesced.

7.13 Rhymes in Northern Song poetry

This summary is based on Zhu Jianing 1992: 436-442, Wang Li 1988:260-307 and Zhou Zumo 1966:656-662.

(1) MC *a* > o; MC *ae* > a
(2) MC *i ii ie*, *iei, iai, ioi eei* > i
(3) MC *ei uei ai eai ea aei iai ioi* > ai/uai
(4) MC *io, iu, ieu* > u/iu
(5) MC *ieu, eu, iou* > eu/ieu
(6) MC *eeu, iau, aeu, au* > au/iau

(7) MC *aoŋ, aŋ*, *iaŋ* > aŋ/iaŋ
(8) MC *aeŋ, eaŋ, iŋ, eeŋ, ieŋ*, *eŋ* > eŋ (Liao [iŋ])
(9) MC *uŋ , oŋ, ioŋ* > uŋ
(10) MC *an, uan, aen, ean, een, ian, ion* > an
(11) MC *en, uen, in, uin, iin, ien, iun* > en
(12) MC *em, am, iam, eem, eam, aem, iam, iuom* > am
(13) MC im >im

Su Dongpo rhymed 客 *khaek,* 雪 *siuet,* 石 *jyek,* 隔 *keak*, 必 *byit*, 白 *baek*, 覓 *meek* and 睫 *jiep*. Qiang Baishi rhymed 答 *tep* and 襪 *myet*. Zhang Yutian rhymed 末 *mat*, 答 *tep,* 壓 *qaep*, 髮 *piet*, 沒 *muet* and 發 *piet.* Zhou Bangyan rhymed 軋 *qeat,* 闋 *yuet,* 葉 *yep* and 怯 *khiep*. Zhu Xizhen rhymed 日 *nyit*, 濕 *syip,* 客 *khaek* and 得 *tek.* None of these words, however, rhyme with open syllables.

7.14 Xixia transcriptions

Another source for northern Chinese of about the same time are the Xixia transcriptions. These have been analysed in detail in Gong Huangcheng 1995a and 1995b. Basing his study on the Xixia transcriptions of Chinese words in the *Fan-Han heshi zhangzhongzhu* (1190), Gong concluded that the dialect in question had the following initials and finals:

Initials

p	ph	m/mb	f		w
t	th	n/nd	l		
k	kh	ŋ/ŋg	x		
ts	tsh		s		
tś	tśh	ń/ńdź	ś	ź	j

Note the characteristic *mb nd ŋg ńdź* initials, also seen in the earlier materials studied by Luo and Coblin, presumably limited geographically to the north-west. We also find *f* and *w* (not *v*), and palatal, not retroflex affricates.

Finals

i ɨ	u	ĩ	ũ
e ə	o	ə̃	
a		ã	

There is no sign of MC *p t k* even in the form of a glottal stop. MC *m n ŋ* had fallen, leaving a nasalised vowel. The vowel *ɨ* appears after dental sibilants and affricates. However, after the palatal affricates [i] remains. There is no contrast between voiced and voiceless initials. Basing himself on much the same material, however, Li Fanwen 1994 still transcribed Chinese syllables with MC *p t k* with ʔ, because the Tibetan transcription of such characters either had an open vowel, or a final <ẖ>. Li felt the occasional use of <ẖ> was indicative of a final ʔ.

7.15 The *Zhongyuan yinyun*

The *Zhongyuan yinyun* was published in 1324. Zhou Deqing remarked that "despite the fact that the nation had been united for some time and the language of the central plains had spread throughout the nation, too many people were still relying on outdated books such as the *Guangyun*". (Schlepp 1991:229). It contains more than 5000 characters, arranged according to the rhyming practice of the *beiqu* 'northern songs'.

The characters are divided into nineteen groups, which are named according to two characters of each rhyme group. Zhou Deqing noted, "of the four traditional tones - level, rising, departing, entering - there is no entering tone in the *Zhongyuan yinyun,* which has been distributed amongst the other tones […]." However, later Zhou says, "Those who distribute the entering tones amongst the level, rising and departing tones broaden their rhymes, which is useful for writing *beiqu.* However, in the spoken language, the entering tone is still distinguished." Zhou Deqing was from the south, and this is interpreted as meaning that in his own dialect, as distinct from the language of the *beiqu*, there was still an entering tone.

Zhongyuan yinyun					Mandarin (*pinyin transcription)*			
p	ph	m	f	v	b	p	m	f
t	th	n	l		d	t	n	l
ts	tsh	s			z	c	s	
tš	tšh	š	ř		zh	ch	sh	r
					j	q	x	
k	kh	x	ŋ		g	k	h	ø
y	w				y	w		

The initials reconstructed by various investigators are much the same. Dong Tonghe considers there was no phonemic difference between *ø* and *ŋ*. The column on the right gives the equivalents in modern Mandarin, in *pinyin*.

The ZYYY lacks the Mandarin palatals *j q x*, which did not develop until much later. ZYYY *v* < MC *miu*- and ZYYY *w* < MC *hyu*-. ZYYY *tš tšh š* correspond to the modern Mandarin retroflexes *zh ch sh*. Some scholars are reluctant to consider these initials retroflexes in the ZYYY, because they also occur before *i*. The evolution from MC *ny* to Mandarin *r* is a complex one. In Kitan it was written ‹ź›, a modified form of ‹ś›, so we can SUHVXP HLWZ DVSURQRXQFHG>å@LQ WKH/ LDR SHULRG

The distribution of characters under the upper and lower level tones indicates a pattern similar to Mandarin. MC voiced initials *b d g* had become voiceless, joining the unaspirated MC initials *p t k* in the upper level tone, and the aspirated MC initials *ph th kh* in the lower level tone. There was not a three way contrast in initial stops and affricates in the ZYYY.

7.16 The *Menggu ziyun*

The *Menggu ziyun* has recently been exhaustively studied in Coblin 2007. The ‘Phags-pa script was completed in 1269, over 300 years after the creation of the Kitan small script in 925 and a century and a half after the fall of the Liao, so it is not so relevant to our discussion of Liao Chinese. However, we can briefly review its characteristics for comparative purposes.

Initials

p	ph	b	m	f	v	ʋ	
t	th	d	n	ɳ	l		
ts	tsh	dz			s	z	
tʂ	tʂ	dʐ					
k	kh	g	ŋ	ʔ	x	ɣ	ɦ
ø							

This list shows a three way contrast between *t th d, k kh g* and so on, as in MC, not as in the ZYYY. Song rhyme tables also show a three way contrast. Shao Yong and Zhu Xi indicate a two way contrast. Coblin interprets the ‘Phags-pa <w> as [v]. ‘Phags-pa indicates an initial *ŋ* and a marginal initial ø.

In Coblin’s transcription, the main vowels are *i u ʅ ʅ u ɛ ə ɔ a ɑ;* medials are *y, j* and *w*, codas are *j w ɛ̆ n ŋ m*. The four grades are indicated as *kan kjan kɛn* and *kjɛn*, implying a difference in vowel quality between Grades 1/2 and Grades 3/4. Syllables in Mandarin *uan* such as *guan* ‘official’ are spelled <gon>. There is no indication of a final glottal stop in the

orthography, but Coblin suggests southern speakers may have "read" a syllable such as <baw> as /bawʔ/ [bɔʔ].

7.17 Uighur and Xixia transcriptions of Chinese

Nie Hongyin 1988 studied the Kitan transcription of Chinese words in the *Liaoshi* and elsewhere. He concludes that there are 21 finals in this variety of Chinese: *a e ue o io ɔ i ui ai am em an en in un iun aŋ iaŋ uaŋ iŋ oŋ*. He goes on to compare three types of related material: the Uighur translation of the *Biography of Xuanzang* (10th century), the Xixia-Chinese glossary *The Timely Pearl* (12th century) and Shao Yong's *Huangji jingshi shu* (11th century Kaifeng-Luoyang). He concluded that the Xixia dialect mixes *f* and *xu*, but the Uighur and Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect did not; the Xixia dialect mixes *n* and *l*, the Uighur and Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect do not; the Uighur dialect shows the loss of final *ŋ*, and the Xixia materials also show such examples, but not the Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect and the Kitan dialect did not; in the Xixia dialect the final *p t k* have been entirely lost, in the Uighur dialect they were preserved quite well, in the Kaifeng-Luoyang dialect *k* and *t* have been lost, but *p* remained. In the Kitan dialect *t* and *k* have been lost; there are no examples of *p*.

7.18 Kitan and hP'agspa transcriptions of Liao-Yuan Chinese

Shen Zhongwei 2007 is a study on hP'ags-pa transcriptions and Kitan transcriptions. The hP'ags-pa script was devised in 1269; the *Menggu ziyun,* which provides the hP'ags-pa spellings for this study, is thought to date from 1308. This is almost 400 years after the creation of the Kitan scripts. It represents quite a different variety of Chinese from the *Zhongyuan yinyun,* dated 1324, which, as we have seen, is quite close to the language of the Kitan transcriptions. Nevertheless, the phonetic values Shen derives from his study are very similar to the transcriptions used for Kitan graphs in this book. The main difference is transcriptional: Shen uses IPA type transcriptions, so 丹 is [p] rather than ‹b›, 业 is [ph] rather than ‹p›. The other main difference is the notation for the transcription of Chinese medials: Shen writes ‹œ› for 夾 ‹y› and ‹œ:› for 仲 ‹ü›. He notes that 夵‹î› and 仐 ‹ú› may have been long vowels. A comparison of Shen's readings with the transcriptions used in this book are as follows.

p	丹,付	‹b›	ph	业	‹p›	m	叉	‹m›	ʋ	赤	‹w›
t	坌	‹d›	th	令	‹t›	n	公	‹n›	l	朩	‹l›
ts	伞	‹z›	s	仐	‹s›						

tʃ	[illegible]	‹c›	ʃ	[illegible]	‹ś›	j	[illegible]	‹ei›	ɻ	[illegible]	‹ź›
k	[illegible]	‹g›	kh	[illegible]	‹k›	ŋ	[illegible]	‹ŋ›	x	[illegible]	‹ho›
a	[illegible]	‹a›	i	[illegible]	‹i›	u	[illegible]	‹u›	ɛ	[illegible]	‹ei›
ɔ	[illegible]	‹o›	œ	[illegible]	‹y›		[illegible]	‹iú›	i:	[illegible]	‹î›
u:	[illegible]	‹ú›	ɨ	[illegible]	‹ï›	œ:	[illegible]	‹ü›			
aŋ	[illegible]	‹aŋ›	iŋ	[illegible]	‹iŋ›	uŋ	[illegible]	‹uŋ›	ɛŋ	[illegible]	‹iáŋ›
ɔŋ	[illegible]	‹oŋ›	yŋ	[illegible]	‹iúŋ›	əŋ	[illegible]	‹ŋ›	u:ŋ	[illegible]	‹úŋ›
aj	[illegible]	‹ai›	uj	[illegible]	‹ui›	ɛj	[illegible]	‹ah›	ɔj	[illegible]	‹oi›
œj	[illegible]	‹e›	əj	[illegible]	‹ei›						
aw	[illegible]	‹au›	iw	[illegible]	‹iu›	ɛw	[illegible]	‹io›	əw	[illegible]	‹eu›
am	[illegible]	‹am›	im	[illegible]	‹m›	ɛm	[illegible]	‹êm›	əm	[illegible]	‹em›
an	[illegible]	‹an›	in	[illegible]	‹in›	un	[illegible]	‹un›	ɛn	[illegible]	‹ên›
ɔn	[illegible]	‹on›	œn	[illegible]	‹üen›	yn	[illegible]	‹ün›	ən	[illegible]	‹en›
						yŋ	[illegible]	‹iúŋ›	əŋ	[illegible]	‹ŋ›

7.19 Rhymes in Liao poetry

There are many studies of Song and Yuan rhymes, but few deal with the Liao and Jin periods. An exception is Lu Guoyao 1994, which compares the rhymes of 11 poets over a period of 300 years. Lu's conclusion was that the Chinese of the early Jin period was similar to that of the Song, and that considerable changes in northern Chinese began about 1200. Lu did not include any rhymes from the Liao. Of more relevance to our present concerns is Ding Zhimin 2006. His study of the rhymes in Liao poetry is based on the material in Chen Shu 1982. This collection includes 78 poems, 6 imperial epitaphs, 57 other epitaphs and other rhymes, with 421 characters in rhyming position. 109 authors are represented, but those for whom dates are available are the following thirteen:

Yelü Bei	909-946	Shangjing
Liao Shengzong	971-1031	Shangjing
Liao Xingzong	1014-1055	Shangjing
Liao Daozong	1032-1101	Shangjing
Yang Jie	fl. 1106	Nanjing
Wang Shiru	1039-1101	Fanyang
Wang Ding	d. 1106	Zhuozhou
Yelü Yan	d. 1113	Zhejin
Zhang Lin	d. 1122	Shenzhou
Yu Zhongwen	d. 1123	Wuzhou
Zhang Jian	963-1053	Nanjing

Zhang (Yelü) Xiaojie	fl. 1067	Jianzhou
Han Fang	1082-1149	Yanjing

While in itself this is a small sample, in the context of the rhymes in poetry of the Song and Jin periods, the rhyme groups of the rhyme tables and the rhyme categories of the ZYYY, it can provide a reasonable overview of the rhyming patterns during the Liao.

Supplementing Lu Guoyao's study, Ding Zhimin 2006:163 concluded that "from the seventh to the thirteenth century, the rhymes of "old style" poems written in the Beijing area can be divided into two stages: the Tang and Five Dynasties period (nearly 300 years), and the Liao Jin Yuan period (about 300 years). The changes in rhyming categories are greatest between the Tang and Five dynasties period on the one hand, and the Liao Jin Yuan period on the other. The 31 groups of the Tang and Five dynasties period evolved into 19 groups by the Liao and Song period. The 19 groups of the Liao and the 18 groups of the Jin basically do not show any changes. The general tendency of the "new style" poetry is much the same." That is to say, noticeable changes in rhyming patterns can be discerned about 1000-1100.

The table below is from Ding Zhimin 2006:163. The first column indicates the rhyme groups of the rhyme tables. The second lists the rhymes of the Late Tang and Post Tang periods of poets from the Beijing, or more generally, the Hebei area, given in MC. The third is based on the sources collected in Chen Shu 1982. From these Ding Zhimin extracted 19 rhyme groups: 14 with open syllables, compared to 19 in the ZYYY, and 5 extra groups with final ʔ. The fourth and fifth columns are based on analysis of Jin and Song poetry from the same area, and the sixth gives the nineteen groups of the ZYYY. The Liao sample itself may be relatively small, but it is clear that there is great similarity between the Liao, Jin and Song groups, but that the differences between the late Tang and post Tang rhymes and the Liao groups is considerable. Although relatively few, the structural similarity of the Liao rhyme groups to the finals of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* suggests the readings are likely to be at least approximately correct.

7.20 Development of rhyme groups from Late Tang to Yuan

Group (攝)	Post Tang	Liao	Jin	Song	Yuan
通	東種	東種	東種	東種	東種
止	支微	支微	支微	支微	支思
蟹	齊祭	支微	支微	支微	齊微
遇	魚模	魚模	魚模	魚模	魚模

蟹	皆來	皆來	皆來	皆來	皆來
臻	真諄	真文	真文	真文	真文
臻	文欣	真文	真文	真文	真文
臻	魂痕	真文	真文	真文	真文
山	寒桓	寒先	寒先	寒先	寒山
山	山刪	寒先	寒先	寒先	桓歡
山	仙先	寒先	寒先	寒先	先天
效	豪高	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
效	交肴	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
效	蕭宵	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪	蕭豪
果	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈	歌戈
假	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻
假	家麻	家麻	家麻	家麻	車遮
梗	庚青	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚清
梗	蒸登	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸	庚蒸
江	江陽	江陽	陽唐	江陽	江陽
江	江陽	江陽	江雙	江陽	江陽
流	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯	尤侯
深	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋	侵尋
咸	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	監咸
咸	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	談鹽	廉纖
山入	曷屑	月業	月業	月業	
深入	葉帖	月業	月業	月業	
曾入	德職	德昔	德質	德質	
曾入	陌昔	德昔	德質	德質	
曾入	緝邑	質沒	德質	德質	
深入	質沒	質沒	德質	德質	
通入	屋燭	屋燭	屋燭	屋燭	
通入	鐸藥	藥鐸	藥鐸	藥鐸	
江入	覺學	藥鐸	藥鐸	藥鐸	

What this table tells us is that there were 19 final groups in Liao poetry. The *approximate* values of these groups, and characters which represent a particular rhyme, were probably as follows:

1 家麻 a	2 歌戈 o	3 支微 i	4 皆來 ai	5 魚模 u
6 尤侯 eu	7 蕭豪 au	8 江陽 aŋ	9 庚蒸 iŋ	10 東種 uŋ
11 寒先 an	12 真文 e	13 談鹽 am	14 侵尋 im	
15 月業 aʔ	16 德昔 iʔ	17 質沒 eʔ	18 藥鐸 oʔ	19 屋燭 uʔ

7.21 Finals in Liao Chinese

On the basis of the rhymes set out above, we can set up a preliminary framework for the finals of Liao Chinese.

(1) a

Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 華 *hua*, 家 *jia*, 嘉 *jia*
Shengzong epitaph: 夏 *xia*, 化 *hua*, 下 *xia*, 亞 *ya*

馬	*ma*	mae	[illegible]	‹ma›
察	*cha*	chreat	[illegible]	‹ca›
家	*jia*	kae	[illegible]	‹g.ia›
家	*jia*	kae	[illegible]	‹x.ia›
夏	*xia*	hae	[illegible]	‹xa.ia›
下	*xia*	hae	[illegible]	‹xa.ia›

(2) o

Daozong epitaph: 科 *ke* 莪 *e* 歌 *ge* 河 *he* (Liao [ɔ])
Yixingming epitaph: 訶 *he*, 它 *ta*, 可 *ke*

博	*bo*	pak	[illegible]	‹b.oh›
左	*zuo*	ca	[illegible]	‹s.o›
左	*zuo*	ca	[illegible]	‹z.o›
和	*he*	hua	[illegible]	‹xo›

(3) i

Dong Yang qi Zhang-shi epitaph: 閨 *gui* 儀 *yi* 彝 *yi* 詩 *shi* 慈 *ci* 移 *yi* 淒 *qi*
Wang Ze epitaph: 氣 *qi,* 邃 *sui,* 位 *wei,* 吏 *li* 使 *shi* 制 *zhi* 遂 *sui* 止 *zhi* 第 *di* 理 *li* 此 *ci* 利 *li* 吹 *chui* 悌 *ti* 弟 *di* 歲 *sui* 里 *li* 水 *shui* 墜 *zhui*

持	chi	dri	[illegible]	‹c.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	[illegible]	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	[illegible]	‹s.i›
妃	*fei*	phiei	[illegible]	‹p.i›
義	*yi*	ngie	[illegible]	‹ŋ.i›
宜	*yi*	ngie	[illegible]	‹ŋ.i›
李	*li*	li	[illegible]	‹l.i›

禮	*li*	leei	个关	‹l.i›
期	*qi*	gi	乂关	‹x.i›
起	*qi*	khi	乂关	‹x.i›
儀	*yi*	ngie	尖关	‹ŋ.i›
帝	*di*	teei	王	‹di›
帝	*di*	teei	令关关	‹t.i.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	夯关	‹ts.i›
齊	*qi*	jeei	仐关	‹s.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	夯关	‹ts.i›
騎	*qi*	gie	九关关	‹g.i.i›
室	*shi*	syit	叉关	‹ś.i›
持	*chi*	dri	朩关	‹c.i›
師	*shi*	srii	叉关	‹ś.i›

Words with the non-palatal, apical *ï* in MSC are usually transcribed 兆 ‹sh› and 友 ‹tz›, but occasionally as 叉关 ‹ś.i›, 朩关 ‹c.i› as above. Cf. 職 友 旨 友 ‹tz› 知 友 ‹tz› 師 兆 ‹sh›. In the ZYYY, most words with *ï* in MSC are in a separate group, but some, such as 知 *zhi* 'know', 制 *zhi* 'system', 恥 *chi* 'shame' 失 *shi* 'lose', 世 *shi* 'world', 日 *ri* 'sun' are listed under final *i*, not *ï*. In the Liao rhymes, there is only *i*, there is no obvious emergence of *ï.* This, however, is clear in the Kitan transcriptions. Note that 内 *nei* 'inside', 雷 *lei* 'lightning' and 淚 *lei* 'tears' have a medial *u* in the Liao transcriptions, as in the ZYYY.

(3a) ui

尉	*wei*	qiuei	尜关	‹ui.i›
衛	*wei*	hiueei	火关	‹ui.i›
國	*guo*	kuek	九火	‹g.ui›
隋	*sui*	ziue	仐火	‹s.ui›
隋	*sui*	ziue	伞尜	‹z.ui›

(3b) ï (not attested in the rhymes)

紫	*zï*	cie	伞谷	‹z.ï›
子	*zï*	ci	伞谷	‹z.ï›
使	*shï*	sri	兆谷	‹sh.ï›
事	*shï*	jri	兆	‹sh›
司	*sï*	si	卄	‹ss›
刺	*cï*	chie	卄	‹ss›

(3c) ie

謝	*xie*	zyae	仐交	‹s.ie›
射	*ye*	yae	万交	‹ei.ie›
節	*jie*	ceet	伞交	‹z.ie›

The graph 交 is used to indicate medial -i-. As a final, it was probably pronounced [ie].

(3d) ei

德	*de*	tek	今万	‹t.ei›
德	*de*	tek	公万	‹d.ei›
德	*de*	tek	今关	‹d.i›
特	*te*	dek	公万	‹d.ei›
特	*te*	dek	今万	‹t.ei›

There is no sign of a final *k* in these words, which are written with 万 ‹ei›, which is also used to transcribe Chinese initial *y*. MSC 特 *tè* is irregular, the regular development would be **dé*.

(4) ai

Zhang Lian epitaph: 開 *kai* 才 *cai* 偕 *xie* 恢 *hui* 頹 *tui*
Daozong epitaph: 會 *hui* 碎 *sui* 霈 *pei* 晦 *hui*

開	*kai*	khei	乂丰	‹x.ai›
開	*kai*	khei	叔丰	‹k.ai›
大	*da*	dai	六丰	‹da.ai›
大	*da*	dai	久丰	‹ta.ai›
大	*da*	dai	久丰关	‹ta.ai.i›
大	*da*	dai	公丰关	‹d.ai.i›
冊	*ce*	chreak	朩乐	‹c.ah›
伯	*bo*	paek	丹乐	‹b.ah›
客	*ke*	khaek	乂乐	‹x.ah›
帛	*bo*	paek	业乐	‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii	业乐	‹p.ah›
太	*tai*	thai	久丰	‹t.ai›
太	*tai*	thai	丕	‹tai›
採	*cai*	chei	仐丰	‹s.ai›

Many words in MC final stops which have final *e* in MSC are listed under *ai* in the ZYYY. These include 策 *chai* (Mand. *ce*) 'policy' and 客 *kai* 'guest' (MSC *ke*). The Kitan transcriptions are 冊 [illegible] ‹c.ah› (MC chreak) and 客'guest' [illegible] ‹x.ah› (MC *kaek*). Note also 伯 'uncle' ‹b.ah› (MC *paek*). There seems to be a correlation between [illegible] ‹ah› and MC final *-k*. Note 牌 is written both [illegible] ‹p.ah› and [illegible] ‹p.ai›. Aisin Gioro noted the connection between [illegible] ‹ah› and the MC Grade 2 vowels /ae/ and /ea/ rather than the final /k/, and suggested the vowel in [illegible] ‹ah› might be [æ]. Shen Zhongwei 2007 suggests [ɛj].

(5) u

Zhang Jian epitaph 紆 *yu* 書 *shu* 謨 *mo* 孚 *fu*

Here and elsewhere Ding Zhimin includes rhymes from Shigong Dashi, *Zuiyi ge*. However, this was translated from Kitan into Chinese by Yelü Chucai during the Yuan, so the rhymes cannot be considered Liao Chinese.

吾	*wu*	ngu	[illegible]	‹ŋ.u›
道	*dao*	dau	[illegible]	‹dau.u›
保	*bao*	pau	[illegible]	‹ŋ.u›
武	*wu*	miu	[illegible]	‹w.u›
游	*you*	yeu	[illegible]	‹ei.iu.u›
右	*you*	hiu	[illegible]	‹ei.iu.u›
洛	*luo*	lak	[illegible]	‹l.au.u›
略	*lüe*	liak	[illegible]	‹l.iau.u›
副	*fu*	phieu	[illegible]	‹pu.u›
許	*xu*	xio	[illegible]	‹x.iú›
書	*shu*	syo	[illegible]	‹ś.iú›
署	*shu*	dzyo	[illegible]	‹ś.iú›
禦	*yu*	ngio	[illegible]	‹ŋ.iú›
主	*zhu*	cyu	[illegible]	‹tz.iú›
部	*bu*	bu	[illegible]	‹b.û›
祖	*zu*	cu	[illegible]	‹z.ú›
祖	*zu*	cu	[illegible]	‹s.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok	[illegible]	‹ś.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok	[illegible]	‹ś.û›
祿	*lu*	luk	[illegible]	‹l.uh›
吳	*wu*	ngu	[illegible]	‹ŋ.u›

五	*wu*	ngu	[illegible]	‹ŋ.u›
福	*fu*	piuk	[illegible]	‹pu›
僕	*pu*	buk	[illegible]	‹p.u›
僕	*pu*	buk	[illegible]	‹pú.ú›
僕	*pu*	buk	[illegible]	‹b.uh›
副	*fu*	phieu	[illegible]	‹fu›
富	*fu*	pieu	[illegible]	‹fu›
部	*bu*	bu	[illegible]	‹p.ú›
部	*bu*	bu	[illegible]	‹b.ú›
部	*bo*	bu	[illegible]	‹b.û.ú›
夫	*fu*	piu	[illegible]	‹pu›
駙	*fu*	biu	[illegible]	‹pu›
輔	*fu*	piuk	[illegible]	‹pu›
輔	*fu*	piuk	[illegible]	‹fu.û›
輔	*fu*	piuk	[illegible]	‹fu.u›
武	*wu*	miu	[illegible]	‹w.u›
武	*wu*	miu	[illegible]	‹w.ú›
武	*wu*	miu	[illegible]	‹w.uh›
叔	*shu*	syuk	[illegible]	‹ś.eu›
叔	*shu*	syuk	[illegible]	‹ś.eu.iû›
叔	*shu*	syuk	[illegible]	‹ś.iû›
淑	*shu*	jyuk	[illegible]	‹ś.eu.ú›
六	*liu*	liuk	[illegible]	‹l.iu›
右	*you*	hieu	[illegible]	‹ei.eu.ú›
守	*shou*	syeu	[illegible]	‹ś.eu›
壽	*shou*	jyeu	[illegible]	‹ś.eu.ú›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	[illegible]	‹s.iu›
牛	*niu*	ngieu	[illegible]	‹ŋ.iu›
九	*jiu*	kieu	[illegible]	‹g.iu›
休	*xiu*	xieu	[illegible]	‹x.iu›
留	*liu*	lieu	[illegible]	‹l.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	[illegible]	‹z.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	[illegible]	‹s.iu›
修	*xiu*	sieu	[illegible]	‹s.iu›

(6) eu

Guangjishi inscription: 流 *liu* 幽 *you* 猷 *you* 投 *tou* 求 *qiu* 優 *you* 抽 *chou* 休 *xiu* 游 *you* 儔 *shou*

Xiao Dewen epitaph: 遘 *gou* 授 *shou* 宥 *you* 副 *fu* 獸 *shou* 竇 *dou* 冑 *zhou* 有 *you* 陋 *lou* 后 *hou* 廄 *jiu* 富 *fu* 晝 *zhou* 壽 *shou* 岫 *xiu* 朽 *xiu*

守	*shou*	syeu	[illegible]	‹ś.eu›
婁	*lou*	leu	[illegible]	‹l.eu›
州	*zhou*	cyeu	[illegible]	‹c.eu›
留	*liu*	lieu	[illegible]	‹l.iu›
游	*you*	yeu	[illegible]	‹ei.iu.ú›

(7) au

Weiguowang Shagu epitaph: 高 *gao* 豪 *hao* 勞 *lao* 堯 *yao*
Qin Jinguo Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 考 *kao* 耀 *yao* 導 *dao* 號 *hao*

洛	*luo*	lak	[illegible]	‹l.au.u›
藥	*yao*	yak	[illegible]	‹ei.au.u›
曹	*cao*	jau	[illegible]	‹s.au›
高	*gao*	kau	[illegible]	‹g.au›
誥	*gao*	kau	[illegible]	‹x.au›
驃	*biao*	pieu	[illegible]	‹b.iau›
廟	*miao*	mieu	[illegible]	‹m.iau›
小	*xiao*	sieu	[illegible]	‹s.iau›
少	*shao*	syeu	[illegible]	‹ś.iau.u›
略	*lüe*	liak	[illegible]	‹l.iau.u›
趙	*zhao*	drieu	[illegible]	‹tz.iau.u›
堯	*yao*	ngeeu	[illegible]	‹ŋ.iau.u›
少	*shao*	syeeu	[illegible]	‹ś.iau.û›
昭	*zhao*	cyeu	[illegible]	‹c.iau›
昭	*zhao*	cyeu	[illegible]	‹tz.iau›
校	*jiao*	kaeu	[illegible]	‹g.iau›

(8) aŋ

Qin Jinguo Dazhang gongzhu epitaph: 章 *zhang* 疆 *jiang* 光 *guang* 邦 *bang*
Yide huanghou epitaph: 帳 *zhang* 上 *shang* 楊 *yang* 帳 *zhang* 貺 *kuang*

江	*jiang*	kaong	[illegible]	‹g.aŋ›
章	*zhang*	cyang	[illegible]	‹ja.aŋ›
尚	*shang*	jyang	[illegible]	‹ca.aŋ›
上	*shang*	jyang	[illegible]	‹c.aŋ›

長	*chang*	driang	吊気	‹ca.aŋ›
唐	*tang*	dang	仍気	‹ta.aŋ›
郎	*lang*	lang	屮気	‹l.aŋ›
敞	*chang*	chyang	吊気	‹ca.aŋ›
常	*chang*	jyang	吊気	‹ca.aŋ›
行	*xing*	haeng	不业	‹ha.áŋ›
相	*xiang*	siang	仐并	‹s.iaŋ›
將	*jiang*	ciang	仐并	‹s.iaŋ›
將	*jiang*	ciang	伞并	‹z.iaŋ›

(8a) oŋ

王	*wang*	hiuang	杰	‹oŋ›
光	*guang*	kuang	几杰	‹g.oŋ›

(9) iŋ (*not* eŋ)

Zhao Dejun qi zeng Qinguo daren Zhong-shi epitaph: 榮 *rong*, 膺 *ying* 聲 *sheng* 名 *ming* 清 *qing* 瑩 *ying* 城 *cheng* 銘 *ming*
Jia Shixun epitaph: 應 *ying* 病 *bing* 定 *ding*

應	*ying*	qing	同	‹iŋ›
平	*ping*	biaeng	业同	‹p.iŋ›
兵	*bing*	piaeng	付同	‹bi.iŋ›
經	*jing*	keeng	几同	‹g.iŋ›

(10) uŋ

Xiao Yi epitaph: 公 *gong* 崇 *chong* 隆 *long* 忠 *zhong* 鴻 *hong* 終 *zhong* 重 *zhong* 豐 *feng* 窮 *qiong*
Daozong epitaph: 峰 *feng* 容 *rong* 蹤 *zong* 宗 *zong*

宗	*zong*	coŋ	仐当	‹s.úŋ›
宗	*zong*	coŋ	伞当	‹z.úŋ›
奉	*feng*	biuŋ	业当	‹p.úŋ›
崇	*chong*	jriuŋ	而当	‹ca.úŋ›
宮	*gong*	kiuŋ	几丙冬	‹g.iu.uŋ›
統	*tong*	thoŋ	为冬	‹tu.uŋ›
龍	*long*	lioŋ	屮用	‹l.iúŋ›

Syllables with initial labials such as MSC 崩 *beng*, 烹 *peng*, 夢 *meng,* 猛 *meng*, 風 *feng* and 馮 *feng* were included in the -uŋ group in the ZYYY: 崩 *bung,* 烹 *pung,* 夢 *mung,* 猛 *mung,* 風 *fung,* 馮 *fung*. This was also the case in Liao. Words such as 龍 *long* 'dragon' preserve the MC medial i in both the ZYYY (*liung*) and in Liao Chinese ‹l.iúŋ›.

(11) an

Liu Haichan: 丹 *dan* 難 *nan* 山 *shan* 間 *jian* 般 *ban* 難 nan 田 *tian* 千 *qian*
Shengzong epitaph: 旦 *dan* 段 *duan* 諫 *jian*

蘭	*lan*	lan	[illegible]	‹l.a.an›
山	*shan*	srean	[illegible]	‹ś.a.an›
安	*an*	qan	[illegible]	‹a.an›

(11a) ên

乾	*qian*	gien	[illegible]	‹ki.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	[illegible]	‹t.ie.ên›
殿	*yuan*	deen	[illegible]	‹d.ie.ên›
院	*yuan*	hiuen	[illegible]	‹y.ên›
院	*yuan*	hiuen	[illegible]	‹ŋ.y.iên›
宣	*xuan*	siuen	[illegible]	‹s.y.iên›
仙	*xian*	sien	[illegible]	‹s.ie.ên›
前	*qian*	jeen	[illegible]	‹s.ie.ên›

(11b) on

The ZYYY has a separate category not attested in the Liao rhymes, 桓歡 *on*. It includes 半 *bon* 'half' 滿 *mon,* 端 *don* 'carry', 團 *ton* 'group', 暖 *non* 'warm', 卵 *lon* 'egg', 算 *son* 'calculate' 官 *gon* 'official', 館 *gon* 'building', 寬 *kon* 'broad', 歡 *hon* 'happy'. The Liao rhymes indicate these words had the final *an*. The Kitan transcriptions indicate final *on*, as in the ZYYY.

團	*tuan*	duan	[illegible]	‹to.on›
觀	*guan*	kuan	[illegible]	‹go.n›

(12) en

Fuma zeng Weiguowang Shagu epitaph: 勛 *xun* 存 *cun* 人 *ren* 神 *shen* 春 *chun*
Ma Zhiwen qi Zhangguan epitaph: 文 *wen* 君 *jun* 薰 *xun* 云 *yun* 群 *qun* 軍 *jun* 勤 *qin* 芬 *fen* 紛 *fen* 忻 *xin* 墾 *gen* 焚 *fen* 聞 *wen* 裙 *qun* 分 *fen* 曛 *xun* 墳 *fen*

門	*men*	muen	叉冇	‹m.en›
陳	*chen*	drin	朩冇	‹c.en›
陳	*chen*	drin	朩雨	‹c.in›
臣	*chen*	jyin	朩冇	‹c.en›
臣	*chen*	jyin	朩雨	‹c.in›

(13) am

This group corresponds to two groups in the ZYYY: *am* and *iam*.

Guyushan temple inscription: 岩 *yan* 藍 *lan* 瞻 *zhan*
Fayun dashi epitaph: 險 *xian,* 漸 *jian*, 焰 *yan*

三	*san*	sam	仐为乃	‹s.a.am›
監	*jian*	kaem	九才乃	‹g.ia.am›

(13a) êm

監	*jian*	kaem	九才丕	‹g.ia.êm›
點	*dian*	teem	坌丕	d.êm
檢	*jian*	kiem	九交丕	g.ie.êm

(14) im

Xuanyi epitaph: 沉 *chen* 尋 *xun* 心 *xin* 今 *jin*
Zhang Zhengsong epitaph: 金 *jin* 今 *jin* 深 *shen* 音 *yin*

金	*jin*	kim	九叉	‹gi.m›

7.22 The question of the glottal stop

There are five separate rhyme groups in Liao poetry which had stop endings in MC. This indicates that the MC endings *-p -t -k* had all coalesced into a glottal stop, separate from open syllables. In Liao, iʔ is distinguished from eʔ, but these have coalesced by the Jin.

Post Tang	Liao	Jin	Song
曷屑	月 oʔ	月 oʔ	月 oʔ
葉帖	月 oʔ	月 oʔ	月 oʔ
德職	德 eʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
陌錫	昔 eʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
緝邑	質 iʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
質沒	質 iʔ	德 eʔ	德 eʔ
屋燭	屋 uʔ	屋 uʔ	屋 uʔ
鐸藥	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ
覺學	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ	藥 aʔ

It is clear from the rhymes that Liao Chinese preserved a glottal stop. At least in poetry. We have a very important note, however, from the *Mengqi bitan* by Shen Gua. In commenting on the *Jingdian shiwen,* Shen Gua noted that "Xiong Ansheng was originally from Heshuo (Hebei) and his *fanqie* often reflect northern pronunciation. Lu Deming was from Wu, and mainly follows the Wu pronunciation. Zheng Kangsheng was from Qi, and mainly followed the eastern pronunciation. For example, in the expression 璧有肉好 *bi you rou hao* 'a jade *bi* 璧 consists of a 肉 *rou* 'outer section' and a 好 *hao* 'inner area', 肉 sounds like 揉. This is northern pronunciation. Even now the Heshuo people pronounce 肉 as 揉, and 贖 as 樹." (Ding Zhimin 2006:88). This expression is from the Erya: 肉倍好，謂之璧. Commentary: 璧亦玉器。子男所執者也。璧之制，肉，邊也，好，孔也。邊大倍於孔者，名璧. "A *bi* is also a jade implement. It is held by viscounts and barons. The *bi* is made of a *rou*, the outer section, and a *hao*, the inner area. The outer [solid] area is twice the width of the inner [empty] area."

It is possible to interpret this in a variety of ways, but it looks as if Shen Gua is saying that the people of Hebei pronounce words like 肉 'meat' (MC *nyuk*) and 贖 'lose' (MC *zyuk*) like 揉 (MC *nyeu*) and 樹 (MC *jyu*), which did not have a final -*k* in MC or a final -ʔ in Song Chinese. This would mean that the final stop categories were observed in writing poetry, but not in the everyday speech of people in Hebei.

7.23 Finals derived from MC final stops in Kitan transcription

There are 36 characters derived from words with MC final stops transcribed into Kitan graphs.

叔 *shu* MC *syuk*	淑 *shu* MC *jyuk*	蜀 *shu* MC *jyok*
睦 *mu* MC *miuk*	祿 *lu* MC *luk*	督 *du* MC *tok*
福 *fu* MC *piuk*	六 *liu* MC *liuk*	僕 *pu* MC *buk*
藥 *yao* MC *yak*	洛 *luo* MC *lak*	略 *lüe* MC *liak*
伯 *bo* MC *pak*	郭 *guo* MC *kuak*	涿 *zhuo* MC *traok*
職 *zhi* MC *cyik*	德 *de* MC *tek*	特 *te* MC *dek*
國 *guo* MC *kuek*	冊 *ce* MC *chaek*	帛 *bo* MC *baek*
伯 *bo* MC *paek*	客 *ke* MC *khaek*	易 *yi* MC *yek*
石 *shi* MC *jyek*	察 *cha* MC *crheat*	節 *jie* MC *cet*
滑 *hua* MC *hueat*	越 *yue* MC *hyuat*	室 *shi* MC *syit*
漆 *qi* MC *chit*	密 *mi* MC *mit*	十 *shi* MC *jyip*

7.24 Kitan transcriptions of characters with MC final stops

越	*yue*	hyuot	[illegible]	‹y.e›
節	*jie*	ceet	[illegible]	‹z.ie›
察	*cha*	chreat	[illegible]	‹ca›
漆	*qi*	chit	[illegible]	‹ts.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	[illegible]	‹z.i›
漆	*qi*	chit	[illegible]	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	[illegible]	‹ś.i›
室	*shi*	siet	[illegible]	‹ś.i›
藥	*yao*	yak	[illegible]	‹ei.au.u›
壽	*shou*	jyeu	[illegible]	‹ś.eu.u›
右	*you*	hieu	[illegible]	‹ei.eu.u›
洛	*luo*	lak	[illegible]	‹l.au.u›
略	*lüe*	liak	[illegible]	‹l.iau.u›
博	*bo*	pak	[illegible]	‹b.oh›
郭	*guo*	kuak	[illegible]	‹go›
德	*de*	tek	[illegible]	‹t.ei
德	*de*	tek	[illegible]	‹d.ei›
德	*de*	tek	[illegible]	‹t.i›
特	*te*	dek	[illegible]	‹t.ei›

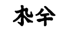
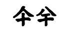
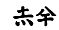
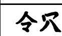
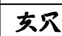
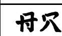
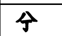
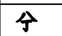
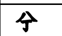
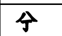
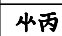
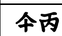
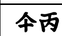
特	*te*	dek		‹d.ei›
國	*guo*	kuek		‹g.ui›
水	*shui*	syuii		‹ś.ui›
内	*nei*	nuei		‹n.ui›
職	*zhi*	cyik		‹tz›
知	*zhi*	trie		‹tz›
旨	*zhi*	cyii		‹tz›

There are three graphs which sometimes appear to be associated with MC stop finals: ‹ah› ‹oh› and ‹uh›:

冊	*ce*	chaek		‹c.ah›
客	*ke*	khaek		‹x.ah›
伯	*bo*	paek		‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii		‹p.ah›
牌	*pai*	beaii		‹p.ai›
博	*bo*	pak		‹b.oh›
祿	*lu*	luk		‹lu›
祿	*lu*	luk		‹lu.uh›
祿	*lu*	luk		‹l.uh›
武	*wu*	miu		‹w.ú›
武	*wu*	miu		‹w.uh›

It is quite possible that ‹ah› may have been [ai], but it is generally distinguished from ‹ai›. There may have been some difference in the vowel. ‹ah› ‹oh› and ‹uh› are also commonly used to transcribe open syllables. Generally speaking there is no consistency in the use of the graphs used to transcribe syllables which ended in stops in MC and probably a glottal stop in Song Chinese. This does not prove that Liao Chinese did not have a glottal stop in such words, just that the Kitan transcription does not indicate it.

叔	*shu*	syuk		‹ś.eu›
叔	*shu*	syuk		‹ś.eu.iû›
叔	*shu*	syuk		‹ś.iû›
守	*shou*	syeu		‹ś.eu›
州	*zhou*	cyeu		‹c.eu›
淑	*shu*	jyuk		‹ś.eu.u›
壽	*shou*	jyeu		‹ś.eu.u›

蜀	*shu*	jyok		‹ś.ú›
蜀	*shu*	jyok		‹ś.û›
楚	*chu*	chrio		‹c.ú›
祖	*zu*	cu		‹s.ú›
武	*wu*	miu		‹w.ú›
魯	*lu*	lu		‹l.ú›
護	*hu*	hu		‹xu.û›
度	*du*	du		‹t.û›
諸	*zhu*	cyo		‹tz.û›
部	*bu*	bu		‹bû›
福	*fu*	piuk		‹pu›
駙	*fu*	biu		‹pu›
父	*fu*	piu		‹pu›
府	*fu*	piu		‹pu›
六	*liu*	liuk		‹l.iu›
修	*xiu*	sieu		‹s.iu›
酒	*jiu*	cieu		‹s.iu›

7.25 Initials of Liao Chinese

Nie Hongyin 1988 made an interesting discovery in his study of the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words in the *Liaoshi.* Many such words have a second syllable beginning with Chinese *l:* 暴里 *baoli;* 迭烈 *dielie*, 撻林 *dalin*; 梯里已 *tiliji*, 撻剌子 *dalazi*; 獨盧金 *dulujin*; 塔里捨 *talishe*, 敵烈麻都 *diliemadu*, 陶里本 *taoliben*, 奪里本 *duoliben*; 忒里蹇 *telijian*; 吐里 *tuli*; 題里 *tili*, 甲里叵 *jialipo*, 迭烈特 *dieliete*. Nie suggested Kitan may have had initial consonants clusters of the type **pl-, *tr-,* or perhaps syllables like **pel, *ter.* Apparently there were special graphs for syllables like **hor, *dir* and others. Judging from the Kitan transcriptions of Chinese words in the inscriptions, it would seem that voicing and/or aspiration was not phonemic in Kitan, and that the basic Kitan phonemes were lax *b d g*, which may have had aspirated allophones.

Nie also suggests the first character in such words, however, is usually one which had a *voiced initial* in MC. This tends to suggest that the reflexes of the MC voiced initials were aspirated, as is the case in the Xixia transcriptions, the northwestern dialects studied in Coblin 1994 and in modern Gan and Hakka, in Sagart 1988. This is not the pattern of the *Zhongyuan yinyun* or modern Mandarin, where the reflexes of MC voiced initials are aspirated voiceless in the level tones, and unaspirated voiceless in the non-level tones. This is confirmed by Gong Huangcheng 2005:491:

“From an investigation of the [Xixia] transcriptions, the Middle Chinese voiced stops and voiced affricates, irrespective of the tones, become aspirated voiceless stops and affricates. As far as the place of articulation is concerned, the postdentals have coalesced with the retroflexes, and the situation is the same as with the stops … *b* > *ph, d* > *th, g* > *kh, dz* > *tsh, z* > *s,* and were transcribed the same as the original MC *ph th kh tsh* and *s*.”

Labials and labiodentals

部	*bu*	bu	[illegible]	‹b.û›
伯	*bo*	paek	[illegible]	‹b.ah›
驃	*biao*	pieu	[illegible]	‹b.iau›
保	*bao*	pau	[illegible]	‹b.u›
僕	*pu*	phuk	[illegible]	‹b.uh›
妃	*fei*	phiei	[illegible]	‹p.i›
平	*ping*	biaeng	[illegible]	‹p.iŋ›
奉	*feng*	biong	[illegible]	‹p.úŋ›
府	*fu*	piu	[illegible]	‹pu›
密	*mi*	mit	[illegible]	‹m.i›
馬	*ma*	mae	[illegible]	‹m.a›
廟	*miao*	mieu	[illegible]	‹m.iau›
門	*men*	muen	[illegible]	‹m.en›
文	*wen*	miun	[illegible]	‹w.un›

Nie says the MC initials *piu- phiu- biu-* had all become *f*- and *miu*- had become *v*-. Moreover, in the *Liaoshi* glossary, there are no Chinese words beginning with *f*, indicating that in Kitan there was no *f* phoneme. [illegible] ‹fu› occasionally appears in the transcription of Chinese words. From the transcription of Chinese, is not clear what difference there may have been between [illegible] ‹b› and [illegible] ‹p›, or the dentals [illegible] ‹d› and [illegible] ‹t›. It may be that the first of each was associated with front vowels and the second with back vowels, or that different vowels are involved.

Dentals

殿	*dian*	deen	[illegible]	‹d.ie.en›
大	*da*	dai	[illegible]	‹d.ai.i›
特	*te*	dek	[illegible]	‹d.ei›
德	*de*	tek	[illegible]	‹d.ei›

唐	*tang*	dang	[illegible]	‹ta.aŋ›
台	*tai*	thei	[illegible]	‹tai›
寧	*ning*	neeng	[illegible]	‹n.iŋ›
内	*nei*	nuei	[illegible]	‹n.ui›
禮	*li*	leei	[illegible]	‹l.i›
龍	*long*	liong	[illegible]	‹l.iúŋ›
陵	*ling*	ling	[illegible]	‹l.iŋ›
令	*ling*	lieng	[illegible]	‹l.iŋ›
梁	*liang*	liang	[illegible]	‹l.iáŋ›
郎	*lang*	lang	[illegible]	‹l.aŋ›
蘭	*lan*	lan	[illegible]	‹l.a.an›
留	*liu*	lieu	[illegible]	‹l.iu›
略	*lüe*	lak	[illegible]	‹l.iau.u›

Affricates and sibilants

青	*qing*	cheeng	[illegible]	‹s.iŋ›
漆	*qi*	chit	[illegible]	‹s.i›
西	*xi*	seei	[illegible]	‹s.i›
前	*qian*	jeen	[illegible]	‹s.ie.ên›
三	*san*	sam	[illegible]	‹s.a.am›
修	*xiu*	sieu	[illegible]	‹s.iu›
祖	*zu*	cu	[illegible]	‹z.ú›
祭	*ji*	ciei	[illegible]	‹z.i›
靜	*jing*	jieng	[illegible]	‹z.iŋ›
濟	*ji*	ceei	[illegible]	‹z.i›
進	*jin*	cin	[illegible]	‹z.iŋ›
節	*jie*	ceet	[illegible]	‹z.ie›
左	*zuo*	ca	[illegible]	‹z.o›
宗	*zong*	cong	[illegible]	‹z.úŋ›
酒	*jiu*	cieu	[illegible]	‹z.iu›
紫	*zi*	cie	[illegible]	‹z.ï›
子	*zi*	ji	[illegible]	‹z.ï›
州	*zhou*	cyeu	[illegible]	‹c.eu›
冊	*ce*	chreak	[illegible]	‹c.ah›
丞	*cheng*	jying	[illegible]	‹ci.ŋ›
臣	*chen*	jyin	[illegible]	‹c.in›
察	*cha*	chreat	[illegible]	‹ca›

商	*shang*	syang	[illegible]	‹c.aŋ›
仁	*ren*	nyin	[illegible]	‹źin›
尚	*shang*	jyang	[illegible]	‹ś.aŋ›
省	*sheng*	sraeng	[illegible]	‹ś.iaŋ›
聖	*sheng*	syeng	[illegible], [illegible]	‹ś.iŋ›,‹ś.i.iŋ›
山	*shan*	srean	[illegible]	‹ś.a.an›
守	*shou*	syeu	[illegible]	‹ś.eu›
書	*shu*	syo	[illegible]	‹ś.iú›
水	*shui*	syuii	[illegible]	‹ś.ui›
少	*shao*	syeeu	[illegible]	‹ś.iau.u›
室	*shi*	syit	[illegible]	‹ś.i›
署	*shu*	jyo	[illegible]	‹ś.iú›
職	*zhi*	cyik	[illegible]	‹tz›
政	*zheng*	cyeng	[illegible]	‹tz.iŋ›
鄭	*zheng*	drieng	[illegible]	‹tz.iŋ›
中	*zhong*	triung	[illegible]	‹ju.uŋ›
章	*zhang*	cyang	[illegible]	‹ja.aŋ›
事	*shi*	jri	[illegible]	‹sh›
詩	*shi*	syi	[illegible]	‹sh›
師	*shi*	srii	[illegible]	‹sh›
使	*shi*	sri	[illegible]	‹sh›
侍	*shi*	jyi	[illegible]	‹sh›
司	*si*	si	[illegible]	‹ss›
賜	*ci*	sie	[illegible]	‹ss›

Mandarin 賜 *ci* is irregular; regular development would be *si*. The important thing is clear indication of *ï* in such words. Nie notes that the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words in the *Liaoshi* all have initial *s*; none have affricates. The characters used are: 蕭速選思撒蘇莎珊辛先斯新賽.

Velars/laryngeals

開	*kai*	khei	[illegible]	‹k.ai›
興	*xing*	xing	[illegible]	‹x.i.iŋ›
期	*qi*	gi	[illegible]	‹x.i›
開	*kai*	khei	[illegible]	‹x.ai›
客	*ke*	khaek	[illegible]	‹x.ah›
空	*kong*	khung	[illegible]	‹x.uŋ›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	[illegible]	‹ŋ.y.iên›

元	*yuan*	ngiuon	关仲公	‹ŋ.ü.n›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	关伏公	‹ŋ.y.n›
乾	*qian*	gien	丞方	‹ki.ên›
銀	*yin*	ngin	关雨	‹ŋ.in›
吾	*wu*	ngu	关及	‹ŋ.ú›

Initial y-

右	*you*	hiu	丙土及	‹ei.eu.u›
射	*ye*	yep	丙文	‹ei.ie›
游	*you*	yu	丙丙及	‹ei.iu.u›

Initial w-

文	*wen*	miun	赤火	w.un
武	*wu*	miu	赤及	w.u

Medial -ie- [i̯]

仙	*xian*	sien	全文方	‹s.ie.ên›
前	*qian*	jeen	全文方	‹s.ie.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	令文方	‹t.ie.ên›
殿	*dian*	deen	岔文方	‹d.ie.ên›

Medial -y- [ü̯]

元	*yuan*	ngiuon	关伏蛐	‹ŋ.y.iên›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	关伏公	‹ŋ.y.n›
元	*yuan*	ngiuon	关仲公	‹ŋ.ü.n›

7.26 Conclusions

Putting this heterogeneous, incomplete and inconsistent material together, we can conclude that the Chinese dialect transcribed in the Kitan inscriptions had the following characteristics:

(1) It was of the Early Mandarin variety rather than the late Tang/Five dynasties type.
(2) The palatalisation of velars and sibilants before *i* had not occurred, so we have Liao *ging* for Mandarin *jing* 京, Liao *si* for Mandarin *xi* 西 and so on.
(3) Liao Chinese had initial *ŋ* and final *m*. Mandarin *r* was transcribed ‹ź›, probably [ʒ]. There is no evidence for [v]. The reflex of MC *miu-* was [w].
(4) The Mandarin finals *uan* and *uang* were Liao *on* and *ong*, as in the ZYYY. It is not clear if the Mandarin final *ün* was *iun* or *ün* in Liao; I have written *ün*.
(5) The apical vowel [ï] occured after [Kitan graph] ‹sh›, [Kitan graph] ‹tz› and [Kitan graph] ‹ss›. It was sometimes unwritten, sometimes written [Kitan graph] ([Kitan graph]) ‹ï›. Some words of this type were written [Kitan graphs] ‹ś.i› rather than [Kitan graphs] ‹sh.ï›, probably indicating the Kitan pronunciation of such words.
(6) Entering tone words were observed as a separate class in the rhymes, but not in the Kitan transcriptions. The script has three graphs, [Kitan graph] ‹ah›, [Kitan graph] ‹oh› and [Kitan graph] ‹uh›, which might indicate a final stop. It is not impossible that when the Kitan script was devised, graphs were devised for these sounds because they actually existed in the type of Chinese used in the early Liao, but by the time of the inscriptions, this distinction had become blurred.
(7) The irregular way Kitan transcribed words with MC *p ph b*; *k, kh, g* etc. and Mandarin initials *b p*; *g k* etc. makes comparisons difficult. The Kitan script, however, shows a two way contrast, not a three way contrast. The irregularities may derive from the phonological incongruity of the Kitan and Chinese stops. The Kitan stops were probably voiced, and aspiration was not distinctive, or perhaps conditioned. The Chinese stops were unvoiced, with aspiration being phonemically distinctive.
(8) Medial i was preserved in such words as 宮 **giung* ‘palace’ 龍 **liung* ‘dragon’, cf. 公 **gung* ‘lord’. Note also 牛 **ŋiu* and 尚 **chang.*

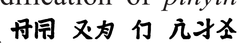
7.27 The phonological system of Liao Chinese

IPA-based transcription

p	ph	m	f	w
t	th	n	l	
ts	tsh	s		
tʃ	tʃh	ʃ	ʒ	
k	kh	x	ŋ	
aŋ	oŋ	iŋ	uŋ	
a	o	i	u	
ai		ɿ	ui	
au	eu	iu		
ei		ie		
an	on	in	un	
am		im		
ɛn			yn	

Pinyin based transcription

b	p	m	f	w
d	t	n	l	
z	c	s		
zh	ch	sh	ř	
g	k	x	ŋ	
ang	ong	ing	ung	
a	o	i	u	
au	eu	iu		
ai		ï	ui	
ei		ie		
an	on	in	un	
am		im		
ên			ün	

The transcription system used in this book for Liao Chinese, the type of Chinese reflected in the Kitan transcriptions, is a modification of *pinyin* rather than an IPA based system. Transcribing 兵馬都監 

‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› as **bingma dugiem* reveals a clear correspondence with ‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm›. To write it **piŋ ma tu kiæm* makes the correspondence less clear, unless we adopt a Chinese style type of IPA for Kitan as well, and write **p.iŋ ma tu k.ĭ.æm* for 伃同 叉为 仃 九才圣. Some Chinese researchers do this. But then we would have to write **p.as* for 伃冬 ‹b.as› 'again', cf. Mo. *basa* or **toro* for 与 ‹doro› cf. Ma. *doron* 'seal'. The transcription used here for Kitan is based on the same general principles used in Western scholarship to transcribe Mongol or Manchu.

7.28 Suggested Liao Chinese readings

7.001 *anguojun* 安國軍 为买 九火 九亦 ‹a.an g.ui g.ün› **angui gün*
7.002 *Anzhou* 安州 为买 朩土 ‹a.an c.eu› **an zheu*
7.003 *biaoji da jiangjun* 驃騎大將軍 伃号 九关关 久平 仐将 九亦 ‹b.iau g.i.i ta.ai s.iaŋ g.ün› **biaugi dai zianggün*
7.004 *bingma dujian* 兵馬都監 伃同 叉为 仃 九才圣 ‹b.iŋ m.a du g.ia.êm› **bingma dugiem*
7.005 *bushusi* 部署司 业及及 叉火 廿 ‹p.u.u ś.iú ss› **bushiusï*
7.006 *chengzhi* 承旨 朩安 亥 ‹ci.ŋ dz› **chengzï*
7.007 *chonglu daifu* 崇祿大夫 吊当 少久 久平 分 ‹ca.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu› **chunglu daifu*
7.008 *cishi* 刺史 仐谷 兆 ‹s.ï sh› ~ 廿 兆 ‹ss sh› **cïshï*
7.009 *dianqian du dianjian* 殿前都點檢 圣文方 仐文方 仃 圣圣 九文圣 ‹d.ie.ên s.ie.ên du d.êm g.ie.êm› **diensien du diemgiem*
7.010 *dianzhongshi* 殿中使 圣文方 子太 兆谷 ‹d.ie.ên ju.uŋ sh.ï› **dienzhungshï*
7.011 *du dianjian* 都點檢 仃 圣圣 九文圣 ‹dud.êm g.ie.êm› **du diemgiem*
7.012 *fangyushi* 防禦使 分杰 发火 兆 ‹fú.oŋ ŋ.iú sh› **fongŋushï*
7.013 *Fengsheng zhou* 奉聖州 业当 叉发 朩土 ‹p.úŋ śi.ŋ c.eu› **pungshing zheu*
7.014 *fubushu* 副部署 分 伃只 叉火 ‹pu b.û ś.iú› ~ 分 伃及 叉火 ‹pu b.u ś.iú› **fubushiu*
7.015 *fugongshi* 副宫使 分及 九丙太 兆 ‹pu.u g.iu.uŋ sh› ~ 分 九丙太 兆 ‹fu g.iu.uŋ sh› **fugiungshï*
7.016 *fuguo shangjiangjun* 輔國上將軍 分 九火 叉乞 仐将 九亦 ‹pu g.ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **fugui shang zianggün*
7.017 *gongdian* 宮殿 九丙太 令文方 ‹g.iu.uŋ t.ie.ên› **giungdien*
7.018 *gongshi* 宮使 九丙太 兆谷 ‹g.iu.uŋ sh.ï› ~ 九丙太 兆 ‹g.iu.úŋ sh› **giungshï*
7.019 *guanchashi* 觀察使 曲公 吊 兆 ‹go.n ca sh› **gonchashï*

7.020 *Guanglingjun wang* 廣陵郡王 九杰 小同 九亦 杰不 ‹g.oŋ l.iŋ g.ün oŋ› **gonglinggün ong*

7.021 *guanglu daifu* 光祿大夫 九杰 笅 久平关 兮 ‹g.oŋ lu da.ai.i pu› **gonglu daifu*

7.022 *guofei* 國妃 九火 业关 ‹g.ui p.i› **guifi*

7.023 *guoshi* 國師 九火 兆 ‹g.ui sh› **guishï*

7.024 *guozi jijiu* 國子祭酒 九火 伞谷 伞关 伞丙 ‹g.ui z.ï z.i z.iu› **guizï zizieu*

7.025 *jiedushi* 節度使 伞文 仃 兆 ‹z.ie dush› **ziedushï*

7.026 *Jin wang* 晉王 仐丙 杰 ‹s.in oŋ› **Zin oŋ*

7.027 *Jingzonghuangdi* 景宗皇帝 九同 仐当 主 王 ‹g.iŋ s.úŋ hoŋ di› **Gingzung hongdi*

7.028 *jinwuwei shangjiangjun* 金吾衛上將軍 九叉 尖叐 火 叉気 仐並 九亦 金吾衛上將軍‹gi.m ŋ.u ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **gimŋu'ui shang zianggün*

7.029 *kaifu yitong sansi* 開府義同三司 叔平 兮 尖关 货火 仐为乃 廾 ‹k.ai pu ŋ.i tu.uŋ s.a.am ss› **kaifu ŋitung samsï*

7.030 *kaiguobo* 開國伯 叔平 九火 付乐 ‹k.ai g.ui b.ah› ~ 㐅平 九火 付乐 ‹x.ai g.ui b.ah› **kaiguibai*

7.031 *libu shilang* 禮部侍郎 小关 付冗 兆谷 小気 ‹l.i b.û sh.ïl.aŋ› **Libu shïlang*

7.032 *ling san sheng shi* 領三省事 小同 仐为乃 叉並 兆 ‹l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iaŋ sh› **ling sam siang shï*

7.033 *Luojing liushou* 洛京留守 小夾叐 九同有 小丙 叉圡 ‹l.au.u g.iŋ l.iu ś.eu› **lauging liusheu*

7.034 *pingluan gongchen* 平亂功臣 业同 小为不 九火 朩有 ‹p.iŋ l.a.on g.uŋ c.en› **pinglon gungchen*

7.035 *pingzhang zhengshi* 平章政事 业同 友気 友同 兆谷 ‹p.iŋ tz.aŋ tz.iŋ sh.ï› **pingzhang zhingshï*

7.036 *qianniu weijiangjun* 千牛衛將軍 仐文为 尖丙 火关 伞并 九亦 ‹s.ie.ên ŋ.iu ui.i z.iaŋ g.ün› **cie ŋiu'ui zianggün*

7.037 *Qishui xian kaiguo nan* 漆水縣開國男 仐关 叉火 业为 叔平 九火 乃 ‹s.i ś.oi ki.ên k.ai g.ui na.am› **cishuihien kaiguinam*

7.038 *shang shu you cheng xiang* 尚書右丞相 吊気 叉火 丙圡叐 朩尖 仐并 ‹ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› **changshiu yeu chengsiang*

7.039 *shangjiangjun* 上將軍 叉気 仐并 九亦 ‹ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **shangzianggün*

7.040 *shangshu youbuye* 尚書右仆射 吊気 叉火 丙圡叐 付久 丙文 ca.aŋ ś.iú ei.eu.u b.uh ei.ie› **changshiu yeubuye*

7.041 *shangshu zhifanglangzhong* 尚書職方郎中 朩気 叉火 友 羔 小気 子火 ‹c.aŋ ś.iú tz poŋ l.aŋ ju.uŋ› **changshiu zhïfang langzhung*

7.042 *shou sikong* 守司空 ‹ś.eu ss x.uŋ› **sheu sïkung*
7.043 *shou situ* 守司徒 ‹ś.eu ss tu› **sheu sïtu*
7.044 *shou taibao* 守太保 ‹ś.eu tai b.u› **sheu taibu*
7.045 *shou taishi* 守太師 ‹ś.eu tai sh› **sheu taishï*
7.046 *shuaifu shuai* 率府率 ‹ś.o fu ś.o› **shofu sho*
7.047 *Shuguo wang* 蜀國王 ‹ś.ú g.ui oŋ› **shugui ong*
7.048 *Si Jianu* 司家奴 ‹ss g.ia n.u› **sï gianu*
7.049 *tai fu ling san sheng shi* 太傅領三省事 ‹tai pu.u l.iŋ s.a.am ś.iaŋ sh› **taifu lingsam shangshï*
7.050 *Tai Miao* 太廟 ‹tai m.iau› **tai miau*
7.051 *taishi* 太師 ‹tai sh› ~ ‹tai ś.i› **taishï ~ taishi*
7.052 *taiwei* 太尉 ‹tai ui› **tai'ui*
7.053 *Wu wang* 吳王 'Prince of the State of Wu' ‹ŋ.u oŋ › **ŋu oŋ*
7.054 *Wuding* 武定 ‹w.u t.iŋ› **wuding*
7.055 *Wuqing xian* 武清縣 'Wuqing prefecture': ‹ú s.iŋ ki.en› **Wucing hien*
7.056 *xiaojiangjun* 小將軍 ‹s.iau s.iáŋ g.ün› **siauzianggün*
7.057 *Xincheng xian* 新城縣 ‹s.in c.iŋ ki.ên› **Sincing hien*
7.058 *xuanhuishi* 宣徽使 ‹s.y.iên x.ui sh.ï› **süanhuishï*
7.059 *yinqing chonglu daifu* 銀青崇祿大夫 ‹ŋ.in si.ŋ ca.úŋ l.uh da.ai pu **ŋincing chunglu daifu*
7.060 *yuanshuaifu* 元帥府 ‹ŋ.y.iên ś.ô pu› **ŋüenshofu*
7.061 *yuyuan tongjin* 御院通進 ‹ŋ.ú y.ên tu.uŋ z.in› **ŋiuyüen tungzin*
7.062 *zhaowu dajiangjun* 昭武大將軍 ‹c.iau w.u d.ai.i s.iaŋ g.ün› *zhiauwu daizianggün*
7.063 *zhengshiling* 政事令 ‹tz.iŋ sh l.iŋ› **zhing shï ling*
7.064 *zhenguo shangjiangjun* 鎮國上將軍 ‹tz.in g.ui ś.aŋ z.iaŋ g.ün› **zhin gui shang zianggün*
7.065 *zhongjing* 中京 ‹ju.uŋ g.iŋ› **zhung ging*
7.066 *zhongshu menxia pingzhangshi* 中書門下平章事 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú m.en ha p.iŋ ja.aŋ sh› **zhungshiu menhia pingzhangshï*
7.067 *zhongshuling* 中書令 ‹ju.uŋ ś.iú l.iŋ› 中書令 **zhungshiuling*
7.068 *zuo chengxiang* 左丞相 ‹z.o ci.ŋ s.iaŋ› **zochingsiang*
7.069 *zuo jianmenwei shangjiangjun* 左監門衛上將軍 ‹s.o g.ia.êm m.en ui ś.aŋ s.iaŋ g.ün› **zo gienmen'ui shang zianggün*.

POSTSCRIPT

> It is unfortunate that this book which is "a social history of the Liao empire" does not devote a section, if not a chapter, to the Ch'i-tan language. Although, with the aid of the excellent "Analytical Index" it is possible to locate quickly and easily references to the Ch'i-tan words, which are discussed in the book, it is, nevertheless, rather difficult to form an impression of just what is known about the language… These "first tentative results of what may eventually be a more comprehensive investigation of the Ch'i-tan language" demonstrate how much can be done to salvage some of this extinct language for posterity. - Notes from Francis Cleaves included in a review by L. S. Yang on the section on the Kitan language by Karl Menges in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125)*.

This book has presented what is currently generally accepted about the Kitan language and scripts amongst the community of researchers in this field. Over the years, many interpretations, suggestions, comparisons with other languages and so on have been generally accepted, many have not. Generally speaking, only the former have been included in this book, with some exceptions noted in passing.

The fact is that most of what we know about Kitan is through the prism of Chinese transcriptions. Nevertheless, patterns are beginning to emerge, in phonology, morphology and syntax. There is clear evidence for vowel harmony in Kitan, but the details are not clear. There is clear evidence for grammatical gender in Kitan, as revealed in different suffixes in the past tense of some verbs, the ordinal numbers and the dotted forms, but the evidence is not consistent. There are clear patterns of several types of converbs and finite verbs, but the differences between them are not known. There is clear evidence for connections between Kitan and Mongol, but those connections remain obscure.

New epitaphs continue to be discovered, at the rate of one or two a year, and each of them sheds new light on a particular graph or a grammatical feature. Most of the published versions have annotations and references to the *Liaoshi,* but few have been transcribed or even partially translated. There is always the hope, of course, that some manuscript will be discovered, or a translation of a *sutra*, or a word list. For the moment, however, we can only work with the texts at our disposal. Each of these texts merits far closer study.

New research promises to shed much light on some of the problems. Wen-chao Li 2006 is a study of the structure of the Song rhyme tables from the perspective of contacts between Chinese and Altaic languages; An-king Lim 2006 is on the influence of Old Turkic consonants and vowels on the transition from Late Old Chinese to Early Middle Chinese. These studies give some insight as to how speakers of Altaic languages, with front-back consonantal and vocalic oppositions, interpreted and modified the Chinese they adopted as their second language. Despite what we might know of Liao Chinese from Chinese sources, we lack a theoretical framework for a more realistic understanding of the relationship between the phonological structure of Liao Chinese and the phonological structure of Kitan, and how this influenced the way the Kitans wrote Chinese words in their script, or Chinese represented Kitan words in theirs.

Liu Fengzhu's *Collected Inscriptions in the Kitan Script*, the culmination of a lifetime's study of Kitan, is due to be published in late 2008. This will contain all the epitaphs currently available, in both the small and large script, with Liu's annotations. With this in hand, researchers will be able to study these texts in greater detail, and more insights can be expected.

At the University of Inner Mongolia, a research team under the direction of Professor Chinggeltei has been working on an updated version of *Research*. It will contain the texts in *Research,* together with a number of texts published since then, in a computer generated form, together with an updated concordance and a number of new studies on individual words and graphs. Wu Yingzhe, a member of this research team, has devised a computerised Kitan font and has produced a digitalised database of all available inscriptions in the small script, which is not yet published. The new publication will also contain an expanded list of Kitan small characters, incorporating a number of small graphs which occur in inscriptions discovered since *Research*.

Andrew Shimunek's recent MA thesis is on the Chinese transcriptions of Kitan words, comparing those words to possible cognates in number of Mongolian languages. Nie Hongyin is also working on a new study of the Kitan words in Chinese texts; his research will be published in the near future. The epitaphs are also historical documents, and much of the commentaries on the published texts is concerned with identifying the subject of the epitaph, and what information is available in Chinese sources such as the *Liaoshi* and inscriptions in Chinese from the Liao dynasty. Aisin Gioro 2006 is a major study using the Kitan texts as historical materials. In this book and in earlier articles, Aisin Gioro has been able to reconstruct the genealogies of certain members of the Kitan aristocracy, and shed important light on Kitan titles and Kitan clan names. The Kitan epitaphs are a major

new source of information on the Kitans as seen through their own language and sources.

Many published texts, both handwritten and printed in various Kitan fonts, contain numerous transcriptional errors. Ji Shi, who has also been working on the Kitan inscriptions for more than thirty years, is currently compiling a *variorum* edition of a number of key inscriptions.

One of the many important issues about the Kitans is what happened to them. A powerful state, of several million people, of whom a sizeable proportion must have been ethnically Kitan, was defeated by the Jurchens, absorbed by the Mongols and disappeared without a trace. In the late 1980s, reports from Yunnan indicated that a minority group known as the 本人 *benren* "original people" claimed to be descended from Kitans, presumably part of the Mongol army stationed there. They had genealogical records, and some of the non-Chinese characters on their ancestral tombstones looked like Kitan, in particular 穴坌 ‹nai.d› 'officials, leaders'. The Daurs have also a long standing myth of their origins, which suggests they are descended at least partially from the Kitans. The discovery of a well preserved body of a female shaman provided DNA which indicates that the claims of both the *benren* of Yunnan and the Daurs have some substance. There is some doubt about the authenticity of the "Kitan" graphs on the tombstones, and the language of the *benren* does not seem to shed much light on the Kitan of the inscriptions. The question of the linguistic relationship between Kitan and Daur is a fruitful field for further research.

Due to the efforts of past and present researchers, the Kitan inscriptions are less inscrutable than they have been since the discovery of the imperial eulogies in 1924. We can look forward to the day when the language of the inscriptions as well known as any other extinct language.

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INDEX

INDEX OF GRAPHS

No.	Graph	Reading
001	一̣	ABOVE, NORTH
002	丁	TWENTY
003	万	tś
004	禾	WHITE
005	求	WHITE♂
006	尿	MOUNTAIN/TOMB
007	丕	EIGHT
008	丕	EIGHT♂
009	丕公	一̣ 公
010	夭	
011	夹	an
012	兲	
013	灭	
014	亜	hur
015	弱	HUNDRED ‹jau›
016	币	od
017	雨	sỏ
018	雨	in
019	丙	iu
020	丙	ei
021	丙	mó
022	丙	cau
023	丙	iủ
024	而	ẻr
025	西	xỉ
026	乇	ONE
027	乇	ONE♂
028	戈	ś
029	戊	FIVE
030	戊	FIVE♂
031	方	ts
032	天	tẻn
033	乔	NINE
034	乔	NINE♂
035	乔	
036	北	xu
037	王	di
038	斥	
039	无	kải
040	十	WEST
041	卡	kả
042	士	
043	圡	
044	乇	
045	支	
046	方	
047	冇	hor
048	井	nẻn
049	市	
050	夷	lỉ
051	亚	ha
052	圡	RECORD
053	亚	qa
054	木	mủ
055	本	
056	朩	
057	夹	xo
058	朴	mỉ
059	杏	uni
060	寸	kẻ
061	可	kẻ
062	並	iáŋ
063	本	121
064	皮	lu
065	夾	
066	土	tủ
067	与	eu
068	北	us
069	共	rí
070	赤	w
071	杰	oŋ
072	内	deu
073	方	ên
074	丹	tir
075	主	hoŋ
076	扎	ho

No.	Graph	Reading
077	北	
078	北	
079	地	
080	北	ii
081	丈	MONTH
082	夾	y
083	廿	ss
084	冇	ra
085	灰	SIX
086	犮	SIX♂
087	夭	tz
088	方	
089	九	zủ
090	廾	ó
091	芀	
092	九	yủ
093	历	gẻ
094	历	
095	女	
096	亥	
097	亦	úr
098	与	al
099	办	ad
100	与	én
101	为	deu
102	节	cu
103	犹	us
104	亥	tź
105	大	ud
106	太	uŋ
107	夯	oi
108	夾	
109	夯	e
110	杢	
111	杢	
112	夵	ge
113	杏	ï
114	关	i
115	亾	dả
116	夬	
117	丈	
118	夫	qú
119	爫	dau
120	大	
121	求	
122	丰	ai
123	本	ar
124	夹	
125	号	ió
126	山	
127	关	an
128	圣	zải
129	买□	
130	不	xa
131	及	ú
132	又	
133	叉	m
134	圣	TWO
135	圣	TWO♂
136	刀	dỏ
137	刃	rẻn
138	习	iû
139	力	na
140	冇	en
141	肀	7
142	尽	KNOW
143	叉	xua
144	叉	ún
145	了	FORTY
146	犭	giủ
147	马	ju
148	丙	ju
149	子	ju
150	孙	ja
151	列	hu
152	犭	ji
153	犳	ji
154	不	on
155	乙	FIFTY
156	乇	
157	千	
158	子	

241	兮	pu
242	全	fu
243	关	HEAVEN
244	伞	s
245	全	û
246	余	qu
247	令	t
248	字	YOUNG
249	分	dû
250	介	heu
251	公	n
252	介	ô
253	公	ô
254	岺	d
255	仝	or
256	侖	
257	金	em
258	伞	z
259	灸	hur
260	令	dur
261	仆	l
262	火	ui
263	炊	ui
264	父	ŋ
265	炏	
266	叉	SIXTY
267	爻	
268	圣	xỉ
269	夅	=炏?
270	圣	êm
271	女	
272	刈	bú
273	火	un
274	幺	iá
275	圭	
276	羊	
277	条	
278	参	
279	北	po
280	业	áŋ
281	非	
282	非	fẻi
283	叔	k
284	上	
285	山	GOLD
286	屲	GOLD♂
287	生	
288	中	bun
289	光	iú
290	出	án
291	求	
292	岁	
293	类	
294	小	siỏ
295	业	p
296	当	
297	出	pú
298	尚	co
299	省	
300	门	EIGHTY
301	闩	
302	用	il
303	甬	iŋ
304	闲	gỏ
305	肉	rỏ
306	闪	
307	闪	
308	冈	COMPOSE
309	国	hó
310	冊	
311	舟	b
312	丹	TEN THOUSAND
313	舟	
314	并	iaŋ
315	井	iảŋ
316	目	
317	月	TEXT
318	罗	
319	曲	go
320	由	yỏ
321	虫	yô
322	肉	ón